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TENDENCIES IN RECENT GERMAN SOCIOLOGY: *
by Professor Franz Oppenheimer. II.

It is quite impossible, within the narrow limits set for these discourses, thoroughly to consider even the main currents of German social philosophy. Nor would I, as a representative of sociology in its narrower sense, possess the competence for such a discussion. Moreover, it is still impossible to delimit this study with any precision from that of general philosophy. For these reasons I shall content myself next with a consideration of two thinkers who still embody rather plainly the thesis and antithesis whose synthesis occasioned the origin of modern sociology. The first of these, an almost pure product of the Enlightenment, is Leonard Nelson of Göttingen, who, to our great sorrow, has just passed away while still in his prime. The second is the Vienna Professor, Othmar Spann, a representative of Romanticism.

SPIRITUALLY speaking, Leonard Nelson is a son of Jacob Fries and therefore a grandchild of Immanuel Kant. Although his published writings contain weighty conclusions about the theory of cognition, his chief labours were devoted to practical philosophy, that is, to ethics, jurisprudence and political theory. And through these labours he found direct contact with sociology in its narrower sense.

His first book to appear was the *CRITIQUE OF PRACTICAL REASON*, a work of inexorable logic and crystal clearness of presentation. It begins with a penetrating psychological analysis from which it appears that the normal man possesses, a priori, that is, independently of all experience, the originally nebulous feeling of duty or, what comes to the same thing, the feeling of the rights of his fellows. This feeling is manifested, for instance in the instinctive rescue from danger of the fellowman as such, of strangers as well as friends, despite the risk which it may entail to the rescuer's own life. And it is shown unequivocally in the lively protest of the conscience before, and in the remorse after, an unethical act. This originally dark feeling permits of complete clarification through reflection; it speaks of a law, a *shall*, that requires unconditional obedience. It speaks as a categorical

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imperative and is to be sharply distinguished from the hypothetical imperatives of prudence. The hypothetical imperative declares: "If you desire or wish to avoid certain results, then you *must* act in such and such a fashion." But the categorical imperative declares: "You *shall* in such a case act in such a fashion, regardless of the consequences; if you act differently, then you draw on yourself an infinite or uncompensatable disapprobation, uncompensatable, even though your misdeed have the most beneficial results."

NELSON shows next that jurisprudence can proceed from no other basis than this a priori law, which dominates all social life independently of all experience. The principle of justice cannot be traced back to an external *will*, for that would lead us into an infinite regress; we should have to ask constantly what higher will in turn could oblige that will. Quite as ineffectual is any attempt to trace back the principle of justice to a *purpose*, for then there could be no justice but only rules of expediency, no categorical but only hypothetical imperatives. Nor can it be based on *contract*, as every contract presupposes law; nor on *compulsion*, for injustice can also be compelled, and an obligation remains *just*, even where there is no compulsion. An unjust power may call itself righteous, but only the observance of the principle of justice can turn the relation of might into a relation of right. Nor, finally, can it be derived from *universal acknowledgment*, for if it could there would be no errors of justice.

THUS far this philosophy is essentially Kantian. But Nelson goes far beyond the master in that he sets forth not only the form but also the content or matter of justice. *Justice is righteousness*, and righteousness is the observance of the equal merit or dignity of all persons. That is the precept for the mutual limitation of interests. The law reads: "Never act so that you would find yourself in disagreement with your own actions if the interests of those affected by them were also your interests." Every philosophy of justice that does not build upon this bedrock ends in absurdities; it is, as the title of a destructively controversial work indicates, "Jurisprudence without Right."

FROM this standpoint Nelson proceeds in his second important work, the *SYSTEM OF PHILOSOPHICAL JURISPRUDENCE AND POLITICAL THEORY*, to considerations in which he tackles with rare courage precisely those burning problems of sociology from which our methodologists shrink. If justice exists to realise righteousness and if righteousness consists essentially in equality, then a critique of property becomes necessary. Here Nelson reached conclusions which are identical with those that form the chief result of my own lifework. There are certain forms of property which originated through the violation of the equal rights of others and such forms are unrighteous, even though they may be confirmed and documented by the positive right of their time and people.

Such a positive right, indubitably unrighteous according to the perception of our own times, is that, for instance, of slavery, which robs the human of his value to himself, that is, of his dignity. A similar positive right, equally unrighteous, is that of the monopolisation by a few, to the exclusion and disinheritance of the majority, of the common heritage of all earthly beings, the land with all its treasures. In this gigantic land enclosure, for such it is in substance, the great problem of our time, that of capitalism, has its root, as none other than Karl Marx expressly testified. This positive right finds legal form in the ownership of great estates, and to abolish it, as unrighteous is a command of justice.

It must also be remarked that this thorough-going socialist was an equally resolute anti-democrat, if democracy is to be taken as identical with parliamentarism. He maintained that rule over the State should not be exercised by an individual or family, a group caste or party, but by justice, represented by the wisest person, i.e., by him who not only knows the requirements of justice in all situations but also possesses the will to realise them. This sage must obviously hold undisputed sway. To establish powers of control or restriction over him were to show a want of sense. For either the controlling persons are wiser than the ruler, in which case *they* ought to assume sovereignty, or else they are less wise, in which case they can only hinder and restrict the ruler in his good designs. Now, if it can be scientifically ascertained what justice is and what righteousness demands, then it would be as absurd to vote on such matters in parliament as it would be to vote on the question whether two and two are four. As humans everywhere place their reliance in experts in medicine, architecture and law, so also ought peoples to entrust themselves to the expert in justice and righteousness. On account of these heresies Nelson was expelled from the Socialist Party in Germany in proceedings that were disgraceful. He was accused of leanings toward Fascism. But the fact is that he diverged from Fascism in very material respects. Fascism asserts that might invariably and of necessity precedes right and *should* so precede it, whereas Nelson demanded that *right* should constantly precede *might*. Moreover, Fascism throttles all open discussion, whether in public print or in meetings, whereas Nelson postulated the absolute freedom of public expression of opinion as the sole corrective of the power of the ruler.

We turn now to a consideration of the equally combative and highly-gifted latter-day representative of Romanticism, the Austrian, Othmar Spann. Spann derives from Romanticism and is fully cognisant thereof. His great authority is Adam Müller, a politician and economist, who gained a measure of fame at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Though a man of attainments and persuasive gifts, Müller's character was none too strong. He sold himself for rather evil services

for the âme damnée of Metternich, that same Gentz whom I mentioned previously, and finally turned Catholic as did so many others of like tendencies. Spann lays great emphasis on the universalistic derivation of Romanticism and this point must be conceded to him. For it is a fact that the whole takes precedence over its parts, not only logically as Aristotle already knew, but also in an evolutionary sense. There is everywhere at first a living whole which, in the process of differentiation and integration, gradually puts forth its "parts," or its "functional elements," as Spann more aptly calls them. This holds true for the individual organism and no less so for the supraorganism of society. This perception, as we said before, must in fact be the point of departure for all sociological reflexion. But such thinking, to stress this point also, must then be pursued with thorough rationalism and the strictest logic. For this the chief requirement is that every sociologist should become aware of his own "personal equation," as Herbert Spencer called the aggregate of notions and valuations that each of us unwittingly receives from his group by virtue of social-psychological determinism. This personal equation is carried over by each of us into our scientific labours and it forms an ideological veil that we must learn to tear, as otherwise we are apt to gaze not into the world of reality but into a mirror which reflects our own sociological features. And it seems to me that Spann did not succeed entirely in freeing himself from his own personal equation. He has the typical mentality of the German-Austrian, namely that of a formerly ruling but deposed language group teeming with suppressed complexes, to use a psycho-analytical expression. He is nationalistic to the point of chauvinism. He believes firmly in racial superiority and this finds expression in violent anti-semitism. Characteristically, he holds fast to the doctrine of might and militarism, resembling in this respect his countryman, Ratzenhofer, who, however, has an entirely different sociological orientation derived from the Enlightenment and carried to the extreme almost of caricature. Spann's sociological labours—he is also an economic theorist of note—hardly seem to me to have benefited by this intermingling. Nevertheless, his efforts to create a sociology with a sufficient philosophical base are very stimulating and worthy of careful study.

HAVING discussed in Nelson and Spann the chief representatives of the thesis and antithesis in the present generation of German sociologists, we ought now to consider several latter-day products of the Hegelian synthesis.

THE followers of scientific *Marxism* come to mind immediately in this connection although their significance for the social theory of our time is fast diminishing. One might almost say that their scientific significance diminishes in direct ratio to their growing political influence.

Indeed, the Marxian economic theories are so riddled that a leading member of the German Social-Democratic Party was recently able to say that Marxism is a "ghostly ruin." And not only are Marxian economics going into eclipse but also the social-philosophical and sociological teachings of the school. Such sociology, of course, tends toward that "historical materialism" which was handed down by Marx and Engels and which has now been raised in Soviet Russia to the rank of a State religion. We have already pointed out that this conception was the first approximation to the doctrine of social-psychological determinism which to-day has reached a stage of high development. We pointed out also that it was then mixed with much dross and but a beginning. The originally Marxian contention that it is solely the economic "production-relation," operating as social being, which determines social consciousness, is untenable. Marx held that the former constitutes the "base upon which the ideological super-structure turns in accordance with fundamental law." But I have been able to show that his concept of economic production is too broad and will not bear the light of a closer analysis. It includes not only the subject matter of economics but also that of technique. Worse still, it covers all the creations of extra-economic force, to wit, the State, the Estates of the Realm, the classes and the great landed properties. The clearest differentiation is essential here. Nevertheless it remains true that at least all those ideologies which relate to social matters, namely, the popular notions and currently accepted scientific theories about the State, the nation, Estates of the Realm, classes, property, history, &c., &c., are in fact determined by the social-economic position of the group in which and for which they are effective and whose momentary interests they reflect. It is one of the chief tasks of sociology to gain a clearer insight into these correlations and in this way make it possible for the individual sociologist to learn the full details of his own "personal equation." It is precisely this field of enquiry which has been chosen for cultivation by the "Frankfurt school," and it would seem to me that its efforts have been attended with considerable success. In my own economic and sociological writings there are numerous contributions to this important theme. My pupil, Professor Gottfried Salomon, published a first significant study of the subject under the title, *HISTORY AS IDEOLOGY*, in a volume issued in my honour on my sixtieth birthday, and he is now working on a comprehensive examination of the ideologies of the French middle class. And another pupil of mine, Dr. Heinz Ziegler, has lately finished a profound and revealing treatise entitled *NATION AND DEMOCRACY*, in which he discloses that Apple of Discord among all peoples, the concept of the nation, as nothing more than an ideological myth which corresponds to no reality and which consequently changes its content continually in accordance with the dictates of the political or economic interests of the carrying group. Ziegler shows, moreover,

that the sociological function of the concept is that of a mirror in which each of the capitalistic peoples, split by class antagonisms, nevertheless sees itself as a unity, the consciousness of which alone makes possible the growth of a consensus. This concept of the "nation" is thus shown to be simply one of the "sentiments" with which the works of Ribot and MacDougall have made us familiar as binding symbols of every highly organised group. Fouillée calls them "idées forces." Actually we are concerned here with a number of inborn human instincts which are grouped around one or more concrete or abstract nuclei. Such "sentiments," for this reason, are not merely pale and powerless representations. On the contrary, they contain the full motivating power of the "conations" correlated with such instincts, or in other words, the impulses toward the realisation of the instinctive aims. And, incidentally, I wish to take this opportunity to say that German sociology and social psychology have been very greatly influenced by MacDougall's classical work on *SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*. It is one of the most frequently consulted books in our domain.

THE Marxian doctrine of historical materialism assumes, fundamentally, this correct standpoint. For this reason, and particularly because its concept of the economic production-relation is elastic enough to turn and stretch as occasion demands, the defenders of the doctrine have a great advantage over their opponents. They gain victories in the name of historical materialism which actually were won by arguments based on social-psychological determinism. This is true, for instance, of the ablest living representative of Marxist social-philosophy, the Vienna Professor, Max Adler, who came off very well, in my opinion, in a dispute with the gifted legal-philosopher, Hans Kelsen, concerning the sociological concept of the State. The oldest and best-known representative of the Marxian school is Karl Kautsky, who recently published a two-volume work on historical materialism. As a social philosopher, however, Kautsky is not nearly so highly regarded as is Adler, who is profoundly learned in philosophy and an able follower of Kant. Kautsky was never anything but an apologist and expounder of the Marxian pronouncements which he defends to the letter with all the fanaticism of a priest.

THERE is another school of German social-philosophy which likewise derives from Hegel, but which, in contradistinction to the socialistic one just discussed, might be termed a bourgeois school, even though some of its individual representatives hold political views closely allied to those of the socialists. This school did not accept the thorough revision that Marx undertook, and it still places society "on its head," i.e., on the intellect or spirit. The leading thought in Hegel's philosophy of history is well known to be the following: the absolute spirit, the world-spirit, thinks, and that which it thinks is simultaneously

consummated. Moreover, it thinks logically-dialectically. The thesis is thought and it comes into being. But every position implies a counter-position, therefore the spirit thinks and consummates the antithesis. This also is insufficient for stability and the absolute spirit therefore thinks and consummates the synthesis in which the opposition between the thesis and antithesis is dissolved. That resultant synthesis represents a new thesis and so the endless process of dialectic and becoming goes on. The carriers of this dialectic process are the various peoples, in each of whom the universal spirit manifests itself as a folk-spirit of a particular stamp which remains singular in the sense that it never is and never can be repeated.

THUS Hegel arrived by means of a strictly logical rationalism—if his premises are once conceded—at that view of the peoples which forms the Romanticist element of his philosophy. Every people or every folk-spirit, since both are the same, is a cultural whole whose institutions, ideas and actions proceed from a single point, from its singular folk-spirit. Its State, constitution, class articulation, property rights, art, religion and science could not be otherwise than they are any more than a fir tree could bear oak-leaves. For every folk is a grown organism with its particular entelechy and as such, in its way, is perfect. For "nature is wisdom without reflection and above it," and therefore "everything that is, is reasonable."

It is apparent that this doctrine must of necessity be very sympathetic to the ruling ideology of capitalistic society, nationalism, from which ultimately it derived. All great peoples are "chosen people" in their own estimation; not only the Jews, but also for instance the Italians, the French, the Russians and perhaps even to some extent the English. It will not be made a reproach to the Germans, then, if they also are subject to the current ideology, particularly so after the terrible blow sustained by their land and people, a blow from which they can only recover if they maintain and even exaggerate their self-esteem. And in point of fact, the Hegelian folk-spirit in all sorts of disguises plays a not unimportant role in German social philosophy. It would hardly be worthy of our science to refer here other than in a rather disdainful way to the promulgators of that racially biassed philosophy of history which in the beginning of the century found in the Germanicised Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, a persuasive and corrupting representative, and precisely for this reason a dangerous and even ominous one for the German mentality and Governmental policy. Their present-day followers are either narrow-minded agitators who look in a mirror and faithfully believe they see the world of reality, or else they are simply paid minions of political parties. But there are also finer and more scientifically deserving believers in the folk-spirit. These are earnestly endeavouring to recognise and prove in all manifestations not only of their own national life that unity of style which

they postulate without more ado ; they are seeking also a comparable unity of mode and structure in the history of other contemporary peoples and cultural circles—the objective spirit, for instance, of the Orient, India, China, Ancient Greece, Islam, &c., &c. Passing mention might be made here of that now almost completely dispelled nine-days' wonder, Oswald Spengler, whose book, *THE DECLINE OF WESTERN CIVILISATION*, was a sensation for a time. Leonard Nelson, in a book of his own called *SPUK—PHANTOM*—wrote a devastating criticism of Spengler's logical method or rather, attempt, at method.

MUCH abler and more thorough are the investigations of Max Scheler, at present Professor of Philosophy and Sociology in Frankfurt, who also started from this standpoint but is working ever closer to sociology in its proper sense. His is an adaptable and adjustable nature and it seems to me that his adjustments have not yet ended. His intellectual origin is that of a very old branch of European philosophy, the Scholastic-Thomistic theological doctrine of the Catholic Church, or in other words, Aristotelianism, as the middle ages understood it, with an admixture of Plato. But this was only his starting point ; one after another he has added numerous elements of later social philosophy. In this connection it is interesting to find that he has taken over from Hegel the ideas of the various "folk-spirits" and their specific emanations. The objective spirit exists for him "from its very inception only in a concrete manifold of endlessly multifarious groups and cultures . . . a common structure and model unity pervades only the ever-living cultural elements of a group, pervades religion, art, science and law. To single these out and comprehend them in the chief phases of their development for every group is one of the highest aims of historical investigation." (*CONTRIBUTIONS TO A SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE*, 1924, p. 13.)

THE strongly Romanticist infusion is easily recognisable here and it is apparent, incidentally, how greatly this movement is dominated by the aforementioned sentiment of the "nation." A typical middle-class thinker, Scheler to-day takes a middle position between his lately-abandoned canonist-catholic standpoint and that of Marxism, whose fundamental thought he accepts, viz., the dependence of the ideologies : that, to quote him, "it is the being of humanity (but not only its economic, "material" being, as Marx quickly adds), in accordance with which all possible human 'consciousness,' 'knowledge,' and limits of understanding and experience are directed," (*op. cit.*, p. 6.). Scheler, moreover, has taken two further steps toward sociology in its narrower sense. He has accepted the doctrine of the origin of the State through extra-economic force rather than through peaceful development. This "sociological idea of the State" we shall soon discuss more fully. And he has also, probably under the influence of MacDougall, attempted to build up a social-psychological theory

of instincts as a base for his social philosophy. He assumes the "real factor" to have resulted from the "instincts," upon which the "ideal-factors" regularly depend, as the superstructure upon the foundation.

THE limitations of this lecture forbid an exhaustive criticism of this doctrine. We can only point out that it is not entirely Hegelian, since for Hegel there was no division into real and ideal factors, both together constituting the Hegelian objective spirit, nor is it entirely materialistic interpretation of history, for according to Marx the identical "being" among all peoples would necessarily call for identical "consciousness," a correlated superstructure on a similar foundation. We have here, in my opinion, not a synthesis in which the contrasts are reconciled, but a syncretism which has not yet achieved full clarity. In order to rescue the singularity of every objective folk-spirit Scheler has to make a very dubious assertion. He denies that essential identity of all human nature, which almost all sociologists and social psychologists not only concede, but actually consider to be the fundamental assumption, the axiom, so to speak, without which sociology would be utterly impossible. Having once ventured this thesis, Scheler makes no attempt to prove it. He seems inclined to regard his assertions as apodeictical propositions in no need of further proof or demonstration, this being obviously a remnant of the scholastic philosophy which was fully assured of its fundamentals because they rested on biblical revelation. In principle, therefore, his conclusions must be considered as postulated. He assumes as certain and as requiring no demonstration, that every people or every cultural circle exhibits a structural or modal unity which is singular and non-repetitive, and his conclusions constitute a return to this presumed fact. If I may be permitted to give my opinion on this matter here, then I should be inclined to say that a final decision on this fundamental assertion, on this finer nationalism, cannot yet be given. Our knowledge of the various cultures and of the conditions in which and through which they developed is not yet sufficient for this. And that, it seems to me, is true not only of those civilisations which are exotic to the European, of ancient Egypt, the Orient, India, China, and the highly-developed American cultures of the Mayas and Incas, but also of the far better-known cultures of the ancient Hellenic peoples—that eternally-repeated example of this variety of historical interpretation. The generation before us might still regard this seemingly sudden appearance and tremendous growth of science and art in Greece as an incomprehensible marvel. They stood before it like the North European before the wonder of the Agave, which sends forth its candelabra-like panicle of flowers—only to die therefrom. But we, in the meantime, have come to know more of the remaining Mediterranean cultures. We have some slight idea of the science, and

especially, of the art of Egypt at a time when the subsequent Hellenes were still nomad Vikings of the seas, or warrior herdsmen on the North European plains. We know, to go still further back, the magnificent rock paintings in the Spanish caves of Altamira, &c., and we begin to suspect that the sagas of a highly-developed civilisation in the far west, the fables of Atlantis, are possibly not quite without foundation. We know something, furthermore, of the high cultures of pre-Hellenic Crete and pre-Hellenic Etruria with their fabulous technic and accomplished artistry, although these naturally did not equal the freedom of their Greek counterparts. And even for this last, we find at least the beginnings of an explanation in the obvious circumstance that the Greeks were far less bound by an all-powerful State religion than their predecessors and therefore could take the last step from the traditional archaic ties to the full freedom of artistic accomplishment. And, finally, we also know something of the ultimate sociological cause of these differences; Egypt and most likely Etruria were irrigation States in which the priests were not only the "cult-technicians" as Max Weber calls them, but also the irrigation technicians, upon whose functions the very life of the society depended. It is thus easy to understand the overpowering authority of the priests in both places. The same thing holds true for the empires of Mesopotamia, while the development of Crete and Mycene was cut short rather early by the conquering Greeks: we cannot know whether their development without this ruinous disturbance would not have equalled that of their lucky heirs, the Greeks. We would not for a moment deny the singularly high cultural development of the short-lived Hellenic Harbour-City-States, for it may be said parenthetically, that inland in the West, in Sparta and Boeotia, and in the central and eastern areas, we find only primitive peasant cultures. But even to-day we are able to see that this development did not, in force and height, tower so infinitely high above the other cultures of its time and surroundings as was assumed by the earlier observers. In such observers, it may be added, there was still much of the enthusiasm of the *Rinascimento* and of Humanism for everything ancient. I might illustrate the point by saying that they saw the Hellenic civilisation as a cloud-capped volcano, piled high upon an otherwise dreary plain by mysterious subterranean powers, whereas we see in it only the highest peak in a whole mountain chain of civilisation.

It must be said also that this whole method of consideration seems particularly dangerous to us because the personal taste of every single observer plays an uncontrollable role under it. *Vestigia terrent*. We have seen too frequently how easy it is for dilettanti like Chamberlain or Spengler to choose from the complexity of historical facts and aspects all those which accord with their preconceived views and to interpret in any way they wished whatever might be conveniently

twisted, while at the same time calmly ignoring the stubborn facts that did *not* fit. This makes it difficult for us to view with anything but extreme distrust any attempt to trace such a structural and modal unity in all the manifestations and institutions of an entire people during its whole existence. We know too well what an important role is played in the lives of all peoples by the mutual exchange, the acceptance and transformation, of cultural values, and how weighty that process is which Lester Ward so happily called the "Crossfertilisation of Cultures." And we are resolved to conduct our analysis of the sociological processes insofar as it is in any way possible, without departure from our fundamental axiom of the uniformity of human nature. Acceptance of the thesis of particular folk-spirits would indicate a portentous approach to those racial philosophers whose absurd pretensions have been denounced unanimously by all serious sociologists. We refuse to postulate an occult quality of specific attributes, peculiar to each case, until we have, as Ross says, squeezed the last drop of actual explanation from the facts.

THERE is a certain relation between this variety of folk-spirit philosophy and a further bent of German investigation of which Alfred Weber, brother and successor of Max Weber in Heidelberg, is to be named as the leader. His views are based upon a distinction which we can accept as fundamentally correct: a distinction between the *process* of civilisation and the *movement* of culture. The first relates to the evolution of an intellectual cosmos which manifests itself in an ever higher rationalisation of consciousness and in the development of practical science and its technical application. This process is immediately transferable from one people to another because human intelligence being everywhere basically the same, can take over alien rational stimuli and use them scientifically and technically. But the *movement of culture* is totally different. This movement "creates no cosmos of universally valid and necessary things; on the contrary, everything that appears here is and remains by its very nature enclosed in the historical body in which it arose and with which it is intimately related." There is no evolution here but only a "protuberance-like outburst of productivity here and there in an apparently inexplicable way, the outburst suddenly appearing as something extraordinary and new, singular and exclusive, as an incomparable creation which in its essence is in no necessary connection with anything else."†

THE resemblance to Scheler's views is apparent, and so far as the resemblance reaches, our methodological scruples apply here also. But the fundamental dichotomy in itself has some validity. It was first clearly outlined, as far as I am aware, by Hegel, who differentiated between the absolute and the objective values. Hegel's absolute

† Principiellen zur Kulturosoziologie, Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft, Vol. 47, No. 1.

values are defined as a relation of values between man and God, whereas the objective values are a relation of values between humans which is capable of ever further progress to an ever higher perfection. The absolute values are Religion, art and philosophy; the objective values, also called "progress values" by the German philosopher of history, Mehlis, are state, law and social economy. Hegel, in undertaking this differentiation, achieved a reconciliation between Kant and Herder. Kant continually had only the State with its appurtenances of economy, &c., in mind, in other words, the "objective or progressive values," whose completion to a fully-developed "State of Right or Justice" could only be attained in an infinitely long historical process of approximation. In this view all of history appeared as a sort of endless purgatory, as a preparation of humanity for an infinitely distant blessedness. This thoroughly dismal and pessimistic conception aroused the indignation of the pious-spirited Herder, who remarked justly that every gifted people is capable of accomplishments in art, religion and philosophy which are great and incomparable and perfect of their kind. Thus to Herder, history no longer appeared as an endless process, but rather in several important relations as a finite progression to humanity's supreme heights. Hegel, in giving equal consideration to the absolute and to the objective values, undertook a true synthesis of Kant and Herder which, apparently, has remained unknown to Alfred Weber—he asserts at any rate, that he had no predecessors. Hegel's synthesis, nevertheless, contains Weber's fundamental thought in its entirety.

FOR my own judgment, this distinction is of decisive significance. I am of the opinion that sociology, as a strictly casual science, will at least for the present be under the necessity of confining itself to the objective progress-values, to those of the State, theoretical and practical science, economics, &c. The absolute values, on the other hand—religion, art and philosophy—seem still to be withdrawn and possibly always will be withdrawn from strictly casual science. For in these the chief rôle is played by a phenomenon which rational science is totally unable to explain in its entirety, the suprasocial personality, particularly in those highest illustrative instances of the *homo religiosus*, the artist and the philosopher. Sociologists will relinquish this task to the historians who have to approach the phenomenon not in a coldly explanatory way, but rather with intuitive reverence and awe. Attempts at causal explanation will always leave inexplicable remainders here. Such remainders will be left whenever we are concerned with life and consciousness or the soul. The highest of these is the suprasocial personality, the "Genius." And here sociology in its narrower sense finds those bounds which, for the present anyway, are not to be passed. Such also, we take it, is Alfred Weber's opinion, for like ourself, he holds that the real subject matter

of sociology is to be found in the process of civilisation, while at the same time he makes plain that sociological consideration of the cultural movement cannot accomplish more than the determination of types, cannot accomplish more, in other words, than a phenomenology of its surface appearances, without ever being able to sound its depths. Scheler regards these matters more hopefully. He has laid out a large programme for cultural sociology, with numerous theses of which he promises demonstration by philosophical means. We shall have to wait and see.

PROCESSES OF SECULARISATION: AN IDEAL-TYPICAL
ANALYSIS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PERSON-
ALITY CHANGE AS AFFECTED BY POPULATION
MOVEMENT: by Howard Becker.

Now, it is an indubitable fact that societies do have . . . a double aspect. They are composed of individuals who act independently of one another, who compete and struggle with one another for mere existence, and treat one another, as far as possible, as utilities. On the other hand, it is quite as true that men and women are bound together by affections and common purposes; they do cherish traditions, ambitions, and ideals that are not all their own, and they maintain, in spite of natural impulses to the contrary, a discipline and a moral order that enables them to transcend what we ordinarily call nature and through their collective action, to recreate the world in the image of their collective aspirations and their common will.

—Park.¹

PART I.

THE term "secularisation" has been used by a large number of writers, among them Tönnies, Durkheim, Malinowski, and Shotwell. Little or no space, however, has been devoted to an exact analysis, upon an ideal-typical or even upon a conceptual basis, of the processes involved. Further, the denotations and connotations of the term vary widely from writer to writer; in many instances, moreover, its use by the same writer is far from consistent. A comprehensive philosophy of history akin to Max Weber's *Entzauberung der Welt* may be connoted, or on the other hand nothing more may be meant than a decline in the importance of organised religion as a means of social control.

SECULARISATION is really an extremely inclusive term comprising a number of overlapping social processes—individuation, mental mobilisation, social and personal disorganisation and reorganisation, &c. In order to study these processes in their total setting of secularisation, and in order to take account of the far-reaching implications of the latter concept, it is necessary to know the methodological *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* of the continuum determining the selection of what we are to call processes of secularisation.

I.

THESE methodological termini we shall call the isolated sacred society and the accessible secular society, two phrases that denote two ideal-typical social organisations. A good *empirical* example of the first would be the marriage group, or large kinship group, characteristic of rural India; of the second, certain aspects of metropolitan New York.

¹Robert E. Park, Chap. I., in *RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES*, Wilson Gee, ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1929), pp. 6-7.

We are interested in the empirical, however, only as an approximation of the ideal-typical; the nature of the latter must therefore be made clear. The term "ideal type" derives from Max Weber, who so designated various personality types and types of social process and grouping which are never found in an unmixed or "pure" form, but which for purposes of conceptual clarity and systematisation are spoken of *as if* they so existed. The "economic man," for example, is such an ideal type in the writings of the more enlightened classical and mathematical economists; he is an abstraction that has never existed in real life; and yet considerable insight into economic processes can be gained by thus operating with what is after all a *fiction*. The practice of accentuating or stressing certain factors or characteristics in a configuration results in a similar distortion of the true state of affairs that may nevertheless lead to important discoveries, as Weber's own work in the sociology of religion has impressively demonstrated. As a matter of fact, all scientists operate with ideal types or even conscious fictions; the theoretical physicist's world, for example, is an artificially simplified world in which lines are fictitiously straight, cylinders and spheres are of ideally perfect form, plane surfaces are without even microscopic irregularities, and friction is banished utterly. Nobody expects him to formulate a "law" (or shorthand statement of his observations) relating to the behaviour of a particular knotty, unplanned, kiln-dried, yellow pine two-by-four when struck with a dull axe in the sweaty hands of an Italian labourer who receives only thirty cents an hour for his work; ideal-typical and empirical are never confused, either by the public or the physicist himself. The sociologist, on the other hand, is often expected unfailingly to prophesy concerning the future behaviour of that *particular* Italian labourer, so to speak, and in the effort to vindicate his science in the eyes of a sceptical world, sometimes attempts to do so, apparently in entire ignorance of the theory of probability and the fact that not even the sociologist, strange as it may seem, is omniscient. Ideal-typical and empirical are not sharply discriminated, and justice is done to neither.

WHAT has this to do with the continuum determining the selection of what we are to call secularising processes? To begin with, the construction, *on the firm basis of previous culture case study*,² of an ideal type wherein the phenomena denoted by the problem are at a *minimum* would yield a heuristic fiction that would establish the necessary conceptual limit in one direction. One point thus fixed by this marginal ideal type, it would then be necessary only to construct

²The writer has already made such studies. Two are incorporated in his unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Ionia and Athens: Studies in Secularisation," and several others have appeared in *SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH*, KÖLNER VIERTELJAHRSSHEFTE FÜR SOZIOLOGIE, &c. In order to appreciate to the full the implications of the method, cf. Wiese-Becker, *SYSTEMATIC SOCIOLOGY*, using index for such terms as culture case study, mental mobility, stranger, history, &c.

another, *also on the firm basis of previous culture case study*, in which the phenomena denoted by the problem are at a *maximum*, and two points of reference would be established. As the logicians say, these *Grenztypen* or marginal types would then give the determining orientation to the formulation of the results attained by empirical study, for inasmuch as the ideal types are relative each to the other and have meaning only as the extremes of an infinitely divisible continuum along which empirical cases can be ranged, the minutest variation toward either extreme would be significant.

DESCRIPTION or construction of the isolated sacred society *as an ideal type* is now in order. Isolation is a characteristic affording as good a point of departure as any, and so with it we begin.

2.

THE isolated sacred society is isolated in three ways: vicinally,³ socially, and mentally. Vicinal isolation leads, among other things, to the fixation of motor habits and intense opposition to change; social isolation leads to habitual relationships of withdrawal and the fixation of attitudes toward the in-group and out-group; mental

³This term derives from Ratzel's *LAGE*, which was translated by Semple as "vicinal location." Cf. the following:

"A people has . . . a twofold location, an immediate one, based upon their actual territory, and a mediate or vicinal one, growing out of its relations to the countries nearest them. The first is a question of the land under their feet; the other of the neighbours about them." (E.C. Semple, *INFLUENCES OF GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT* [New York: Henry Holt, 1911] p. 132.)

All the following are examples of vicinal (not geographical!) location:

"I. Central location. Examples: The Magyars in the Danube Valley; the Iroquois Indians on the Mohawk River and the Finger Lakes; Russia from the 10th to the 18th century; Poland from 1000 to its final partition in 1795; Bolivia, Switzerland, and Afghanistan.

"II. Peripheral location: Ancient Phœnicia; Greek colonies in Asia Minor and Southern Italy; the Roman Empire at the accession of Augustus; the Thirteen Colonies in 1750; island and peninsula lands.

"III. Scattered location: English and French settlements in America prior to 1700; Indians in the United States and the Kaffirs in South Africa; Portuguese holdings in the Orient, and French in India.

"IV. Location in a related series: Oasis states grouped along great caravan routes." (*Ibid.*, p. 138.)

A vicinal desert (not to be confused with the geographical variety!) would therefore be a place where no relations with other human beings were possible. To be sure, geographical factors frequently condition vicinal deserts, but do not determine them. Some examples of such deserts are given in the following excerpt:

"Because of recent explorations which have penetrated the innermost recesses of the continents, we are able with some accuracy to draw a line around *the regions where man appears only by stealth and as a fugitive*. Arabia has its Dahna; Persia its Kevir and its Karakum; Turkestan its Taklamakan; Tibet its gloomy plateaus where one can travel for weeks without meeting a human soul. The eastern Sahara in the Libyan desert, even with its oases, and the western Sahara in Tanesruft, *are deserts in the true sense of the word*." (P. Vidal de la Blache, *PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY*, ed. by Emmanuel de Martonne, trans. by Millicent Todd Bingham [New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1926], p. 32, italics ours.)

isolation, as in the case of underprivileged classes or races, rigid sects, &c., may be the result of illiteracy, early indoctrination, language handicap, real or imputed psychological inferiority, &c., is usually associated with social isolation, and leads to similar results. As an ideal type the isolated sacred society has all three kinds of isolation to the *n*th degree.

In addition to being isolated this society is completely sacred (in the special sense here given the latter term). No comparison, classification, analysis, and abstraction, habitual or otherwise, is practised; everything is unique, concrete, and personal, for all contacts are primary. The organism is so thoroughly adjusted to definite motor habits, attitudes inculcated in childhood, and certain types of association between sense impressions and definite activities that there arises "a feeling of impropriety of certain forms, of a particular social or religious value, or of superstitious fear of change."⁴ Tradition and ceremonial play a large part in the life of the society, and every situation is defined in customary and sacred terms; Tarde's "custom-imitation" prevails. The folkways and mores rule; there is a minimum of rationalistic criticism, and of individuation a similar minimum. Even the maintenance folkways and the material objects associated with them are under the sacred sanction; as in the cases of some pastoral nomads and some simple agriculturists, the herd animals are sacred and the soil is sacred. In other words, rational and utilitarian considerations do not have wide scope even in one of the most organically "utilitarian" of all activities, that of gaining a livelihood. This dominance of sacred sanctions is facilitated by the fact that the isolated sacred society is economically self-sufficient; there is no foreign trade nor any other opportunity for the intrusion of pecuniary valuation and the development of detached economic attitudes. Inasmuch as there is no trade, the division of labour is simple, and there is no town, urban, or metropolitan economy; further, no strangers, with their detached, critical attitudes leading to disregard of or contempt for sacred matters, are tolerated. What is sacred is kept sacred; isolation has a powerful ally in the emotional resistance to change it engenders. The form of the kinship group is that of the large family, the *Grossfamilie*, the *genos*, and is completely under the control of sacred sanctions. Production and consumption are exclusively community matters, and as such are similarly controlled. Property is largely subject to collective and sacred considerations; "rights" of testation are strictly although unconsciously limited as a consequence. There is, however, a minimum of social control by physical force, and even of overt control; offences against the mores are punished by general aversion, indignation, and traditional and spontaneous verbal or corporal chastisement, and not by attempts at the Guilt=Punishment

⁴Franz Boas, *PRIMITIVE ART* (Institutet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B, viii., Oslo, 1927), p. 150.

equation. Gossip is the most powerful medium of social control within the isolated sacred society, which perforce closely resembles the Polish *okolica* or region within which "a man is talked about." Verbal or even tacit "understanding" usually prevails instead of formal written contract; when unusually binding obligations are entered into, the promise given in the presence of the whole society or of its traditionally delegated, especially sacred representatives is the method followed. The home or familiar domestic environment, as well as the *milieu natale* or place of birth and upbringing, are closely linked with fixed motor habits and the correlated emotional responses lending them a strongly sacred character; pecuniary valuation is altogether excluded, and change of such environment is attended by marked emotional resistance. The function of training the children is completely under sacred control; parenthood is a cultural far more than a biological fact. Irrationalism and supernaturalism, whether traditionally religious in derivation or otherwise, are completely dominant; rationalism and scepticism are only potentially present. Rational science is unknown.

HERE, then, is one of our ideal types—the isolated sacred society.

3.

THE accessible secular society, its methodological antithesis, is accessible in three ways (all of them secondary): vicinally, socially, and mentally. Its vicinal accessibility is the result of geographical location that furthers to the utmost limit all the cultural factors leading to such accessibility; terrestrial, maritime, and atmospheric conditions make possible the fullest utilisation of all the devices of rapid transportation. In this way the fixation of any dominant percentage of motor habits is rendered practically impossible among a large proportion of the population; there is a premium upon change of every kind, and Tarde's "mode-imitation" prevails. The social accessibility of this secular society is the result of the complete absence of occupational, professional, class, caste, racial, religious, or moral barriers; there is nothing whatever to hinder social circulation. Competition is consequently unrestricted, for there are no non-competing groups, and the free movement made possible by vicinal accessibility facilitates the spatial allocation of the members of such a society in strict accordance with their economic status. Topographical irregularities being "ideally" absent, zones of population distribution arise that in their spatial patterning reflect exactly the competitive order. The mental accessibility of this society is the result of common basic education, complete literacy and lack of language barriers, popularised science and scholarship, a press or similar agency that distributes uniform news to all, &c., &c., As an ideal type the accessible secular society has all of these characteristics to the n th degree.

IN addition to its accessibility this society is completely secular (in the special sense here given the latter term). Every relationship is treated as a means to an elusive end, "happiness" as consciously defined in terms of the strictly egoistic wishes of the individual, and never as an end in itself. Comparison, analysis, classification and abstraction are habitually practised; the unique, concrete, and personal are completely set aside. Nothing is sacred, for the lack of fixed motor habits and the continual contact with new sensual values puts a premium upon change; instead of inability to respond to the new there is inability to refrain from responding to the new—one aspect of mental mobility. Tradition and ceremonial play no part in the life of such a society, and every situation is defined in rationalistic and secular terms. The readily perceivable folkways and mores give ground to rational constructs; there is a maximum of rationalistic criticism, and of individuation a similar maximum. The maintenance folkways are subjected to rational analysis, and are changed with whatever frequency and completeness such analysis shows to be necessary. None of the domestic animals is sacred, nor is the soil exempt from thorough-going pecuniary valuation. This dominance of secular standards is reinforced by reason of the fact that the accessible secular society is highly differentiated economically; it has a complex metropolitan economy, with a territorial as well as an occupational division of labour. Trade is carried on with all parts of the world; there are no political barriers, such as protective tariffs or immigration restrictions, of any kind. The stranger is free to come and go as he will; inasmuch as everyone is more or less a stranger, cosmopolitanism acquires prestige value and becomes a further aid to the detachment characteristic of the stranger. Not only *ubi bene ibi patria*, but also "wherever my economic good is found, there is my country"; not only *homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, but also "I am an economic man; I deem nothing that relates to man a matter economically foreign to me." The kinship group is reduced to the particularistic family, and all the production and almost if not all the consumption functions of the latter are taken over by the metropolitan economy. Property is entirely free of collective and sacred considerations; rights of testation are unlimited, and the individual can "do what he will with his own." There is a minimum of informal social control; offences against the laws frequently involve no social ostracism, and the Guilt=Punishment equation has full sway. Inasmuch as the metropolitan economy with its anonymity and differentiation prevails, social control in the form of gossip has little or no power; men do not fear being "talked about." Formal, secular, rational, legal contracts are the rule; even the marriage relationship is cast in the form of a secular contract between two individuals—a contract in which the kinship bond plays no conditioning part. The home has no sacred character, but is a secular stopping-place changed without

emotional reluctance—indeed, with gratification. The function of training the children is under the complete control of secular agencies. Irrationalism and supernaturalism of *traditionally* religious derivation are not found; rationalism and naturalism have prestige value, and all irrationalism and supernaturalism must seem to be their opposite, *i.e.*, “scientific.” Genuine science has great power and wide range. HERE, then, is the second of our ideal types—the accessible secular society.

4.

LET it again be emphasised that both the isolated sacred society and the accessible secular society are nowhere existent as empirical cases; they are conscious fictions, heuristic concepts, artificial abstractions, arbitrary constructs—in short, ideal types that are never found on land or sea. This insistence seems necessary because by far the greater part of the criticism directed against the use of the ideal-typical method is beside the mark; instead of appraising the *instrumental, pragmatic value* of particular ideal types, an effort is made to find “exceptions”—as if anything other than exceptions could be found!

TÖNNIES has stressed some of the foregoing points as follows:

THE fact must be borne continually in mind that these abstractions are artificial, and even arbitrary; all the forces of *society* [accessible secular society] remain in close connection with their *community* [isolated sacred society] basis, with the “historical” forms of living and acting together. . . . It is not easy to make this point of view clear, nor is the understanding of it easy. Yet insight into and mastery of its meaning will give the key by which the most important problems of human culture, of its rise and decline, may be solved. For the very existence of culture is change, and as such is the simultaneous development and dissolution of existing forms. Such change can be made conceptually evident only in the *transition* from one relative concept to another.⁵

AGAIN, it must be borne in mind that the transition from sacred to secular will here be analysed in terms of personality change rather than of society change, *i.e.*, the transition from sacred to secular is dealt with as if it occurred in one generation. As a matter of fact, such transition usually covers a much greater time-span; restricting it to one generation is an arbitrary simplification which, however, seems warranted on heuristic principles.

FURTHER, the ideal types by means of which the transition is analysed are by no means altogether new; they show points of resemblance to Tönnies’ *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*; to Durkheim’s *solidarité mécanique* and *solidarité organique*; to the contrasting types of social organisation pervading Simmel’s *Über soziale Differenzierung* as well

⁵F. Tönnies, *GEMEINSCHAFT UND GESELLSCHAFT* (6th and 7th ed.; Berlin: Curtius, 1926) (1st ed., 1887) pp. 233–34.

as his *Philosophie des Geldes*; to the classical division into Golden and Iron Ages; to Vinogradoff's kinship society and political society; to Cooley's primary and secondary groups; to Ross's community and society; to Redfield's folk culture and urban culture; to the differing types of social structure depicted by such social organism theorists as Müller, List, Carey, and Spann on the one hand, and such social contract theorists as Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau on the other; to Maine's "status" and "contract"; to the antithetical social processes, *Vergemeinschaftung* and *Vergesellschaftung*, discussed by Max Weber; to Sorokin's empirical dichotomy into farmer-peasant and city types; and most of all to the concepts underlying the analyses of rural and urban life made by Park, Faris, Burgess, Thomas, Znaniecki and others influenced by them. It goes without saying that the content given to this wide range of words and phrases varies somewhat from writer to writer, but as Park has well said, "while these terms may not refer to exactly the same thing, I think the differences are not important. What is important is that these different men, looking at the phenomena from quite different points of view, have all fallen upon the same distinction. That indicates at least that the distinction is a fundamental one."⁶

SOMEONE may say, however, that too great familiarity with what other men have thought is likely to lead to observation in which conformity to theory plays a greater part than conformity to fact. Now, the writer certainly does not wish to disavow the influence that such prior theorising has undoubtedly had upon him; he can say, however, that the case studies upon which the present ideal-typical analysis is based have been merely guided thereby, and that although selection has been practised, distortion has not. In other words, he feels that the *empirical accuracy* of his case studies has not been impaired by any theoretical considerations, but that on the contrary, the guidance afforded by the theories above listed has greatly increased the accuracy and cogency of the cases, and that without such theories the working out of the ideal types just described would have been impossible. In other words, although the writer does not wish to deny that selection took place, he does assert that a great deal more came out of case studies in the way of conceptual formulation than was explicit at the beginning of the investigation. We have in the present ideal-typical analysis, then, a "*gegenseitige Befruchtung von Theorie und In-der-Welt-sein*," to quote Max Weber, the great exponent of the ideal-typical method.

5.

SOME qualifications must now be introduced. The first relates to the scope of the generalisations to be derived from the use of such ideal types. It may be said unequivocally that the processes of transition,

⁶R. E. Park, letter to the writer.

of secularisation, by means of which the isolated sacred society is transformed into the accessible secular society, should be spoken of only in the most general of terms. At the present stage of our knowledge this extreme generality is unavoidable, for we certainly do not know enough to lay down iron-clad formulæ. The most that should be done is to indicate in broad outline the stages in the processes of secularisation that have been evident in cases previously investigated, without any assertion that they will necessarily appear in those to be studied in the future, and without any attempt to force the latter into them. The stages to be outlined in the balance of this article are therefore abstract guiding lines laid down with the expectation that they will be overstepped frequently in any concrete instance.

AGAIN, a qualification is introduced by the fact that there is no particular reason why population movement should be considered in connection with secularisation except that such movement has been and is one of the chief ways in which human beings get genuinely new experience. Any other mode of acquiring new experience could have been included in the present context with almost equal justification; one might well ask the relation of the newspaper, the talking picture, the radio, books—in short, *communication* in general—to the same phenomena of transition. This becomes quite apparent when the following series of questions is propounded: What is the relation of population movement to culture contact, what is the relation of culture contact to new experience, what is the relation of new experience to personality change, what is the relation of personality change to mental mobility, and what is the relation of mental mobility to secularisation? How often does genuinely *new* experience result from travel, emigration, wandering, commuting? When human beings move from one point on the surface of the earth to another or shift in vicinal position, what does this mean in terms of fresh contacts, unaccustomed stimulation, *a tendency to respond more and more readily to new stimuli*? What are likely to be the social consequences if the movement has resulted in a high percentage of such fresh contacts? It is obvious that "communication" could have been substituted for "population movement" in the foregoing sequence with practically no alteration in the fundamental nature of the problem raised.

A FURTHER qualification is introduced by the nature of population movement itself. Culture case studies made by the writer and others have convinced him that it is impossible to deal fruitfully with any and all cases of population movement by tearing them apart in order to get at simple numerical, spatial, and temporal factors. The resulting destruction of the configuration, the neglect of the logic of internal relationships, and the ignoring of the *whole* problem make genuine explanation out of the question. The writer consequently refuses to put forward any assertions about the relation of population

movement *per se* to personality change resulting in secularisation. Only the more general aspects of those population movements of which he has made culture case studies will here be taken into account.⁷ There are many other varieties,⁸ but for our present purposes those the writer has analysed are most important. They are not equally important for present purposes, however; except for the type termed dispersion, only the briefest indication of their significance will be given.

⁷The classification of population movement which follows in the next few pages is not intended to be inclusive or exhaustive, and is made for purposes of exposition only; further, it in no way replaces the analytical schema already set forth by the writer in his articles on "Forms of Population Movement." It merely gives the setting for a further extension of the ideal-typical method. Nevertheless, the reader may be interested in comparing it with similar classifications, if only to see what has been omitted, hence the following:

Classification for purposes of this article	Fairchild I. Wandering	Bryce	Hertz (according to goals of movement)
I. Nomadism A. Incursive B. Interstitial-symbiotic			I. Hunting grounds, pasture, booty (forms of primary nomadism)
II.	II.	I.	II.
Conquest A. Exclusive B. Inclusive	Invasion (of higher cultures by lower) III. Conquest (of lower cultures by higher)	Transplantation (mass migration)	Expansion and improvement of the life range A. Warlike expansion
III.	IV.	II.	B. Economic expansion
Colonisation A. Exclusive B. Inclusive	Colonisation A. Farm B. Plantation	Permeation A. Slow infiltration in large numbers B. Assimilation of a lower to higher culture although few newcomers	
IV.	V.	III.	III.
Dispersion A. Involuntary 1. Flight 2. Exile B. Voluntary 1. Emigration and immigration a. external b. internal 2. Trading journeys and other travel	Immigration VI. Minor forms of migration A. Forced B. Internal or intrastate C. Miscellaneous monadic movements	Dispersion	Forced movement A. Deportation B. Flight from persecution IV. Mental expansion, elevation, and tranquilisation A. Salvation B. "Culture," Stimulation, release of energy, adventure, change

⁸Cf. the writer's article, "Forms of Population Movement," Parts I. and II., in *SOCIAL FORCES*, December, 1930, and March, 1931.

6.

THEY may be divided into two large groups: (1) those which if measured would probably show no significant correlation with personality change or with social change; and (2) those which probably would show such a correlation.

IN the first we may include: (a) nomadism of both the incursive (pastoral) and interstitial-symbiotic (*e.g.*, Gypsy) varieties; and (b) exclusive conquest (*e.g.*, the Dorian invasions).

INCURSIVE nomadism, or pastoral nomadism as such, shows no significant correlation because of the predominance of such negative indices as: routine movement involving a fixed adjustment of the culture pattern; a high degree of group integration as a correlate of an exacting economy and the necessity of frequent conflict; the maintenance of the kinship bond; the practice of making only periodic incursions or raids involving no settlement and no genuine cultural interaction, &c. The isolated sacred community undergoes no perceivable change in spite of a high rate of population movement.

INTERSTITIAL-SYMBIOTIC nomadism, or Gypsy and similar pariah nomadism, shows no significant correlation because of the predominance of such negative indices as: routine movement involving a fixed adjustment of the culture pattern; a high degree of group integration as a correlate of the sharp division into in-group and out-group arising from high biological and cultural visibility; the persistence of special functions in the division of labour; &c. Here again the isolated sacred community, in spite of a high rate of population movement, evidences no appreciable personality change or social change as a consequence of that movement.

EXCLUSIVE conquest, such as the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus and the consequent subjugation of many of its previous inhabitants, with whom no intermarriage was practised and who were otherwise *excluded* from effective contact with the ruling group, shows no significant correlation because of the predominance of such negative indices as: vicinal, social, and mental isolation; the lack of a complex division of labour; the fear of Helot revolt; the prohibition of strangers; military discipline, with its fixed motor habits; the lack of a monetary system; the intensity of social control; &c. In this and similar instances a low rate of movement (after the objective of the invasion has been won) is definitely correlated with a low rate of personality change and social change, so long as the isolated sacred community resulting from such movement and exclusive conquest remains isolated.

THE second group of movements to be considered, viz., those which would probably show a significant correlation of movement with personality change and with social change, comprises: (a) inclusive

conquest (*e.g.*, the Germanic migrations, the First and Second Crusades, the frontier settlement of Ionia); (*b*) exclusive and inclusive colonisation (*e.g.*, the Greek colonising movements); (*c*) dispersion, or movements of small plurality patterns and monads, in the form of immigration, flight, travel (*e.g.*, the journeys of Ionian traders, philosophers, and historians, the peregrinations of the scholars of the Renaissance, the flocking of certain rural and "rurban" persons to modern urban centres).

INCLUSIVE conquest, such as the Germanic invasions of southern and western Europe and the consequent subjugation of many of its previous inhabitants, with whom intermarriage was practised and who were otherwise included in the contacts of the ruling group, would probably show a significant although low correlation because of the predominance of such positive indices as: an increased degree of vicinal accessibility; breakup of the kinship group; change in economy forced by change in habitat; interaction with bearers of a more complex culture; appearance of a marked degree of individuation in the form of unusual crimes; collapse of social control; &c. Such inclusive conquest, in which most ancient and modern states have their remote or proximate origin, is one of the most effective ways in which the isolated sacred community can be broken down, but inasmuch as reorganisation along rigid lines frequently takes place, the correlation with personality change and with social change must be regarded as slight, although important from the transitional point of view. The establishment of strong political units resulting from such movement eventually makes movements showing a higher correlation possible.

EXCLUSIVE and inclusive colonisation are instances of the latter; whether the colonists intermarry with the natives or not, there is usually a moderately high correlation of such movement with personality change and with social change, because of the predominance of such positive indices as: an increased degree of vicinal accessibility, especially for the mother city or country; the frontier or middleman position of the earlier colonists; the development of a territorial division of labour; contact with peoples having different folkways and mores; the detachment with which the colonists eventually come to regard the institutions of the mother city or country; the consequent tendency toward rationalism, &c. The trend toward the accessible secular society is well under way.

THE last variety of movement, dispersion, is from the present point of view the most important of all; culture case studies made by the writer have demonstrated, in his opinion, that *lasting* transition toward the accessible secular society is more likely to follow from the movements of small plurality patterns (groups) and monads (individuals) than from any of the varieties above mentioned. Nearly all the forms

of population movement mentioned are, in fact, at least partial demonstrations of this; along with interstitial nomadism, exclusive and inclusive conquest, and exclusive and inclusive colonisation, there is always evident some dispersion, especially in the disintegration of the groups involved after the major movement has taken place. The dispersion of Spartiates as *harmosts* abroad, for example, had a great deal to do with the disintegration of their community and state, founded and for a long time maintained by exclusive conquest. Inasmuch as dispersion is so omnipresent and important a type of movement, a mere listing of indices is hardly sufficient; further, more extended treatment is warranted in view of the fact that it exhibits a definite relation to processes of secularisation more clearly than does any other variety of population movement.

7.

IN order to deal properly with dispersion, it is necessary to add two ideal-typical corollaries to the main propositions of the accessible secular society and the isolated sacred society; these corollaries are those of the secular and the sacred stranger. The part played by one of the products of dispersion, viz., the stranger, the man habituated to abstraction, has already been dwelt upon by such writers as Simmel and Park; he may be heuristically conceived as the microcosm or epitome of the accessible secular society and may, in this ideal-typical capacity, be termed *the secular stranger*. Conversely, there is another product of dispersion, another type of stranger who has not yet been so termed, the man habituated to nothing but the concrete and personal; he may be heuristically conceived as the microcosm or epitome of the isolated sacred society, and may, in this ideal-typical capacity be termed *the sacred stranger*.

THESE contrasting ideal types of stranger, like the social organisations they epitomise are of course never found in real life; in empirical cases even the most extremely secular stranger always has a large number of attitudes that derive from the isolated sacred society, and conversely, the most extremely sacred stranger frequently has a large number of attitudes due to the influence of the accessible secular society, while between the empirical extremes there are a large number of persons who show few marked tendencies in either direction. Further, the empirical degree of "strangeness," whether sacred or secular, is doubly relative, i.e., it is a ratio: an extremely sacred stranger in a mildly secular society is no more strange than is a mildly sacred stranger in an extremely secular society, and an extremely secular stranger in a mildly sacred society may have the same strangeness ratio as a mildly secular stranger in an extremely sacred society. Here again careful distinction must be made between the ideal-typically absolute and the empirically relative.

THE sacred stranger, then, is empirically no more than a person whose dispersion results in "sacred-to-secular" relative strangeness; the secular stranger is empirically no more than a person whose dispersion results in "secular-to-sacred" relative strangeness.

THERE are two other types of stranger or strangeness that must not be overlooked, although little attention will be paid them beyond the short analysis to follow: one may be called sacred-to-sacred strangeness; the other secular-to-secular strangeness.

It is necessary to call attention to sacred-to-sacred strangeness because the previous discussion of the isolated sacred society as an ideal type is likely to lead to the conclusion that the writer assumes but one extreme empirical variety of isolated sacred society, and that consequently the dispersing monad with attitudes deriving from this society would have a low ratio of strangeness in other sacred societies. No such assumption is made, however, for it would manifestly be incorrect; for example, the orthodox Jew, whose attitudes derive from a society with an empirical minimum of indices of accessibility and secularisation, certainly was a stranger in those Catholic peasant societies of the Middle Ages which had a similar minimum. His ratio of strangeness was high in spite of sacred-to-sacred dispersion, not because of quantitative differences expressible as maximum or minimum, but because of what we are at present forced to call qualitative differences.

THERE are, to be sure, cases in which both quantitative and qualitative differences are practically non-existent, and in which sacred-to-sacred dispersion therefore results in an extremely low ratio of strangeness; an example is afforded by the dispersion of peasants from the isolated sacred societies of the Hunsrück region⁹ to the similarly isolated sacred societies established in Brazil as a result of exclusive colonisation by peasants from that same region. Between these German and German-Brazilian societies there are very few qualitative differences of significance, which is attested by the fact that the German-Brazilian societies show only a very slight degree of social change; the dispersing monads are promptly reabsorbed in isolated sacred communities both quantitatively and qualitatively almost exactly like those they left. In such cases sacred-to-sacred dispersion does result in a low ratio of strangeness.

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that there are certain situations in which the sacred stranger, particularly if he comes alone and is still plastic, is rapidly absorbed by an isolated sacred society, even when it shows wide qualitative differences from the society that shaped his original character-attitudes. An example of this is found in the

⁹Cf. the writer's article, "Sargasso Iceberg: A Study in Cultural Lag and Institutional Disintegration," in *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY*, November, 1928, pp. 492-506.

absorption of Scandinavian peasants, both male and female, by the Mormon communities of Utah to which they come as proselytes; there is little if any individuation and secularisation, and on this pragmatic basis we can therefore say that such peasants show a very low ratio of sacred-to-sacred strangeness.

NEVERTHELESS, such examples are selected and not chosen at random; at the most they merely demonstrate that "sacred-to-sacred" dispersion does not always result in an appreciable ratio of sacred-to-sacred strangeness; they by no means justify the assumption that it never results in a high ratio of such strangeness—for it frequently does.

ANOTHER type, secular-to-secular strangeness, has already been mentioned and must be similarly qualified; like the type just discussed, it seems almost a contradiction in terms, for inasmuch as strangeness in general has been described as a ratio, it may seem that when a person with an empirical maximum of secular attitudes comes into a society with an empirical maximum of indices of accessibility and secularisation, the ratio is so extremely low that the term strangeness is a misnomer. It is, of course, true that great metropolitan centres are very similar and are becoming more so, and that the modern cosmopolite is equally at home everywhere—but he is not very much at home anywhere! Further, he reinforces prevailing tendencies and thereby helps to increase the number of indices of accessibility and secularisation and must therefore be considered a secular stranger with a moderately high ratio of strangeness. In other words, the secular stranger is none the less strange even when among others with similar attitudes, and his presence may help to render both their attitudes and his own more secular, for in its very nature the accessible secular society has no ascertainable limits either to its accessibility or its secularisation. Hence we may say that secular-to-secular strangeness is a term signifying very definite phenomena, and that these phenomena are of considerable contemporary importance, as Hayner's study of the hotel, Cavan's study of suicide, and Sorokin's study of "social mobility," to name only a few, have demonstrated.

THERE are, then, two main ideal types of dispersing monad whose movements give rise to four types of strangeness: the sacred stranger whose dispersive movement takes him to an isolated sacred society or to an accessible secular society, and the secular stranger whose dispersive movement takes him to an isolated sacred society or to an accessible secular society; in relative terms, there may be sacred-to-sacred, sacred-to-secular, secular-to-sacred, or secular-to-secular dispersion, with corresponding varieties of strangeness. Empirically these merge into each other by insensible gradations, but that is no reason why they should not be ideal-typically separate. Culture case studies at present available afford more data for generalisation with relation to secular-to-sacred and sacred-to-secular dispersion than for

the other varieties, hence the terms secular and sacred stranger will hereafter respectively apply to these two types only, unless otherwise noted. This restriction of meaning is merely for purposes of convenience and accuracy; it does not imply that the movements so designated have greater ultimate significance for mental mobility and secularisation for "ultimate significance" is just that all-inclusive generalisation of which a proper evaluation of the configurative nature of population movement should cause careful students to be wary.

WITH our terms thus limited and qualified, however, there is no reason why the historical and contemporary significance of the dispersion of secular and sacred strangers should not be discussed.

8.

To begin with, modern dispersion is most often associated with movement from isolated sacred societies to centres of metropolitan economy affording our best empirical instances of accessible secular societies, *i.e.*, modern dispersion is chiefly the dispersion of sacred strangers. It is also true, however, that in earlier periods, when transportation and communication were not so highly developed, this was not generally the case—indeed, the trend was in the reverse direction: secular strangers like the Phœnicians, Ionians, Athenians, and Venetians visited isolated sacred societies as a consequence of trade or the multifarious other motives already touched upon, but there was not anything like a corresponding flow from these societies toward accessible secular societies (with the possible exception of Rome). The movements of sacred strangers were usually of varieties other than dispersion; in fact, Weatherly has even said, "Mass migration was the only method open to early groups. In sharp contrast stands the modern method of migration by peaceful infiltration, whereby individuals or small homogeneous bodies of people shift to new homes."¹⁰ This is far from being altogether true; at the same time, it provides a rough outline of the more general trends which for present purposes is sufficiently accurate. Dispersion, especially from isolated sacred societies to accessible secular societies, was not the *predominant* form of movement in earlier periods—that much at least is certain. Only in comparatively recent times, perhaps only since the Industrial Revolution, has the sacred stranger appeared in large numbers in the centres of metropolitan economy.

By and large, then, it may be said that secular-to-sacred dispersion, although still of considerable importance, is nevertheless of greater historical than contemporary significance. Sacred-to-secular dispersion, on the other hand, is of greater contemporary than historical significance, especially if the meaning of "contemporary" is extended to include the period from the nineteenth century to the present.

¹⁰U.G. Weatherly, *SOCIAL PROGRESS* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1925), p. 6.

Examples of sacred-to-secular dispersion are afforded by the following : the immigration of Polish peasants to American industrial centres, the outpouring of Galician Jews that has virtually engulfed parts of German cities since the World War, the flooding of automobile cities such as Detroit, Lansing, and Flint by rural Missourians, and the northward push of southern Negroes. Whatever the importance of these movements in " the long perspective of history," their present-day importance can scarcely be denied. In view of these facts, sacred-to-secular dispersion will be focussed upon in the balance of this article ; unless otherwise stated, the term dispersion will mean the sacred-to-secular movement of monads or small plurality patterns.

By thus concentrating upon one particular contemporary type of movement, an important type which has a high positive correlation with personality change and with social change, an analysis will result that comes as close as now seems possible to providing a satisfactory answer to the question : " What is secularisation ? " Why ? Because the processes correlated with sacred-to-secular dispersion follow the same sequence in bringing about change in the dispersing persons as that followed by those same processes in bringing about the transition from the isolated sacred society to the accessible secular society ! In other words, the relation of population movement to personality change and to social change, which cannot be expressed at all in terms of spatial movement *per se*, is expressed in the most general form possible when the effect of dispersion from the isolated sacred community to the accessible secular society is expressed in terms of the *processes* involved. Further, such an analysis of the effects of dispersion upon the person has certain historical or genetic implications : the isolated sacred community is temporarily prior to the accessible secular society, and dispersion affords a recapitulative analogy of the general process whereby isolation is broken down and sacred inhibitions are destroyed. As Tönnies says, "*ein Zeitalter der Gesellschaft folgt einem Zeitalter der Gemeinschaft*;"¹¹ dispersion shows us an analogous sequence in the life of the sacred stranger. The process whereby he becomes mentally mobile and individuated is in a sense but another aspect of that whereby the isolated sacred community becomes accessible and secular. They are obverse and reverse ; one should not be considered without the other.

AND so it is that dispersion, a type of population movement having as much if not more contemporary relevance than any other, is also better adapted than any other to provide as general an answer as can or should be given to the question : " What is secularisation ? "—an answer in terms of process.

(To be concluded.)

¹¹Tönnies, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

FRANCIS GALTON ON HEREDITARY GENIUS: by
G. Spiller. II.

IF, then, the very greatest men are not, as a class, accounted for on Galton's theory, this theory must be considered as ominously and inherently weak. Moreover, assuming Galton's theory to be correct, we should expect that the case of the Bach family would represent the average where, in eight generations, from 1550 onwards, over twenty eminent musicians, besides many others who displayed ability, are said to have appeared. Unfortunately, the Bach family, instead of exemplifying a rule, as it should do on Galton's hypothesis, offers an altogether unmatched example. As a matter of fact, illustrious and eminent men have almost invariably no illustrious and eminent parents; sometimes they have one or two not unnoteworthy relatives; in practically no case is the number of noteworthy relatives appreciable; there is not the faintest trace of the slow selection and development of genius in families, as postulated by Galton; women seem entirely excluded from the advantages of inheriting superior ability; and in numerous cases where noteworthiness is said to be inherited, aptitude is not. From which we conclude that it is difficult to think of a scheme of selective regeneration which shall gradually raise the general human level. The facts, on the contrary, hint at the need of a fresh interpretation of the data along environmental lines.

GRANTED, however, that Galton's general theory is faulty to a degree, it yet remains true that the number of cases of eminent persons who have more or less noteworthy relatives is far beyond what we have a right to expect on the theory of pure chance. Leaving aside the Bach family, there is, for example, the case of Charles Darwin, whose grandfather and father⁴⁰ were F.R.S.'s and whose four sons are all notabilities, three of them F.R.S.'s. Or we have the data provided in NOTEWORTHY FAMILIES, which show that 65 out of about 337 F.R.S.'s had no less than three noteworthy relatives. Here at least we are on solid ground.

How are we to explain this accumulation of talent in families? It is difficult to express a decided opinion on this point because of the lack of sifted data. According to Galton over two-thirds of the scientific men pronounced themselves indebted to factors other than those of heredity and natural superiority. The question is, how far did various cultural circumstances, too subtle to be divined without special inquiry—particular events, historical stage, social needs, straightened or prosperous conditions, chance selection of socially appreciated work, etc.—contribute generally to Galton's related men of science rising to eminence?

⁴⁰ Darwin's father does not appear to have been in any way noteworthy and his able grandfather would not have been known to fame but for his grandson.

GALTON himself supplies abundant illustrations of the effect of environment: "When apples are ripe," he states, "a trifling event suffices to decide, which of them shall first drop off its stalk; so a small accident will often determine the scientific man who shall first make and publish a new discovery."⁴¹ "Owing to the favourable conditions of their early training, an unusually large proportion of the sons of the most gifted men of science become distinguished in the same career."⁴² "It is . . . very common among scholars to have been infirm in youth, whence, partly from inaptitude to join with other boys in their amusements, and partly from unhealthy inactivity of the brain, they take eagerly to bookish pursuits."⁴³ "The first in a family who has scientific gifts is not nearly so likely to achieve eminence, as the descendant who is taught to follow science as a profession, and not to waste his powers on profitless speculations."⁴⁴ "The fairly-gifted son of a great painter or musician is far more likely to become a professional celebrity, than another man who has equal natural ability, but is not especially educated for professional life."⁴⁵ "The elder sons have, on the whole, decided advantages of nurture over the younger sons. They are more likely to become possessed of independent means, and therefore able to follow the pursuits that have most attraction to their tastes; they are treated more as companions by their parents, and have earlier responsibility, both of which would develop independence of character; probably, also, the first-born child of families not well-to-do in the world would generally have more attention in his infancy, more breathing space, and better nourishment, than his younger brothers and sisters in their several turns."⁴⁶ "I have heard German professors speak with wonder at our waste of energy in mere fidget, and in so-called amusements, which are mostly very dull, and ascribe the successful laboriousness of their own countrymen to the greater simplicity of the lives they lead."⁴⁷ Then, too, "the leading scientific men are generally endowed with great energy";⁴⁸ "the excellence of the health of the men in my list is remarkable";⁴⁹ and "men who have won their way to the front out of uncongenial environments owe their success principally . . . to their untiring energy, and to an exceptionally strong inclination in youth towards the pursuits in which they afterwards distinguished themselves."⁵⁰ Thus, according to Galton, vital and nervous energy are said to be influential factors in bringing a man to the front; whether a man is the first-born son or not makes a considerable difference; and social customs apparently explain to a marked extent the laboriousness which stamps some peoples and some families. All this does not

⁴¹ HEREDITARY GENIUS, p. 192.

⁴² *ibid.*, p. 197.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 265.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 320.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 320-321.

⁴⁶ ENGLISH MEN OF SCIENCE, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 230.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 99.

⁵⁰ NOTEWORTHY FAMILIES, p. xviii.

sound as if noteworthiness developed independently of a favourable environment.

WHAT, again, of family tradition and influence? Galton leaves us uninformed both as to the financial and social position of the parents of noteworthy sons and as to family traditions and parental or other influence and guidance. Charles Darwin spoke of his father as the wisest man he ever knew and his father's wisdom may, apart from heredity, explain to a decisive degree the trend of Darwin's life. Robert Stephenson said once of his father: "It was his thorough training, his example, and his character which made me the man I am." Manifestly, both mothers and fathers often exert themselves to the utmost to encourage their children, with excellent effect in a favourable environment, whilst nothing is more common than for fathers to train their children to follow their own trade, profession, or other pursuit, *e.g.*, Galton tells us that 21 of the 38 sons of 32 fathers followed the same pursuit as their parents. The caste system admirably illustrates that and a few centuries ago this method of obtaining recruits for any particular calling, high or low, was almost universal in Europe, as it is still in some parts of the world. If to-day home encouragement is generally not directed to any special occupation, it is because we are living in an unstable and socially unregimented age; but the class of pursuits followed by any stratum of society to-day is approximately the same, except that men aim higher than they used to. Where, then, for any reason, one individual of eminence appears in a family, we should naturally suspect the likelihood of his or her establishing the intellectual and other conditions necessary in order that other members of the family should follow in his footsteps and this, together with other favourable environmental circumstances, is almost certainly the explanation of some families being noted for their high ability. Indeed, on the learning-from-others' theory it is likely that we might determine the environmental conditions conducive to producing a humanity of the standing of the Fellows of the Royal Society, whilst the normally almost complete isolation of those most eminent has very likely a non-recurring historical and social cause, as I have endeavoured to show in a previous article that appeared in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* in 1929.

IN the last few paragraphs we have dealt with Galton's theory on the basis of the materials which he collected. It may not be amiss now to consider briefly the hereditarian view in relation to some data independently secured. CHAMBERS'S *ENCYCLOPÆDIA* supplied these. Altogether a little over 500 names were noted, including virtually all individuals of the highest genius, practically all of the next degree, and a goodly number of the third and fourth degrees, the status of the last being not far removed from the average university professor and his peers in other spheres of life. The first thing which an

examination of this list reveals is that those of transcendent genius have, on the whole, very rarely relatives of any distinction; that class two strongly resembles class one in this respect; and that these classes and classes three and four belong, as a fairly general rule, to the nobility, the gentry, old families, and the professional and well-to-do classes—that is, to the sections of society which are best placed for seizing promising occasions by the forelock.

A SECOND fact of importance suggested by such an analysis is that a family, as a rule, shows general talent and not special talent, *e.g.*, of two brothers, one will be noteworthy in one sphere and the other in another sphere, whilst special periods, like the Elizabethan, will be found to exhibit an outburst of new talents. The evidence is thus decidedly against the inheritance of special aptitudes.

THIRDLY, speaking broadly, the difference in standing between a noteworthy person and his relatives, except in classes three and four, is so very marked that he appears superficially to be a “sport” or mutation rather than the last of many stages in the upward mental development of a family, as Galton’s theory demands. Of such upward development no trace can be found. In other words, it would be impossible to foretell with any likelihood of correctness, what family of classes one to five is to produce members of any of these classes.

FOURTHLY, whilst according to Galton’s theory rigorously interpreted, we should expect all the near relations to be virtually as noteworthy as the noteworthy person himself, it is by far and away the rule—in about 14 cases out of 15—that the noteworthy person stands isolated.⁵¹ Sometimes we have two brothers (the Van Eycks) or a father and a son (the two Mills), and quite exceptionally more than one noteworthy relative, say 1 in 25. This low proportion cannot be due to some fatal cause as, for instance, the mingling of strains, for cases are on record, such as the Bach family, the Vernet family, the Rothschild family, and certain Genevese families, of several generations displaying considerable talent. The broad fact is for the noteworthy person not to have any noteworthy relatives and where he has such that he should have, except very uncommonly, not more than one. All this is best illustrated by the simple test that a family name most rarely occurs more than once in a list.

FIFTHLY, if it were true that genius, like murder, will out, that “social hindrances cannot impede men of high ability, from becoming eminent,” we should expect each generation to count about an equal

⁵¹ A clear definition of noteworthiness should be assumed, for the number of individuals belonging to the professions, and their equals—all of whom, in a loose way, might be classed as noteworthy—may be counted by the hundreds of thousands in any one generation. Galton’s favourable conclusions appear to be largely due to the laxity of the standard he applies to relatives.

percentage of noteworthy persons or for generations to show a law of regular increase or decrease in noteworthiness. Whilst, however, many generations can boast of but very few first-rank individuals, other generations can lay claim to a comparatively large number. As an illustration we may cite the golden period in Greek history, the Renaissance, the Elizabethan age, and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to G. Archdall Reid,⁵² "a remarkable thing about Greece, in its period of greatness, was the vast number of able men that it produced. Among a population hardly equal to that of an average English county more really great men arose in a couple of hundred years than all Europe produced in fifteen centuries." Yet there is nothing in the earlier Greek civilisation which suggests the age of Pericles, proving thus that "race" or heredity or gradual innate development had, so far as we can see, nothing to do with the greatness of Athens. Leaving aside extravagant inferences, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the social and historical, combined with the individual, environment affords the sole explanation of the noteworthiness which at any time reaches the surface.

BUT, sixthly, our list practically ignored royalties and aristocracies, who show a remarkably large ratio of high talent now and who, down to a century or so, occupied nearly every public post of importance. Until quite recently, for instance, the English Cabinet contained not a few noble lords belonging to old families and the principal British Colonial and Dominion Governors have been frequently members of the nobility. This is, of course, truer still of royalties. Taking the data at their face value, we should have to conclude that the peerage is largely composed of individuals of very high native ability and that this ability is almost unfailingly transmitted. Yet the body of our other facts is in flat contradiction to this assumption of the inheritance of ability and emphatically suggests that social factors explain the difference between a people as a whole, on the one hand, and royalties and aristocracies, on the other.⁵³

If this be so, then, lastly, a correlated fact is also explained, viz., that the members of class three, and even more so those of class four, and generally those of what one might call classes five and six, which include the various professions, belong mostly to the economically and socially favoured classes and are therefore admirably placed for taking advantage of opportunities favouring the development of various degrees of noteworthiness.

SUMMING up, we seem entitled, at least until evidence to the contrary is produced, to hold that the above mentioned results support the

⁵² "The Biological Foundations of Sociology," in *SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS*, vol. 3, 1907, p. 19.

⁵³ Galton's analysis of the eminent relatives of judges and Lord Chancellors is susceptible of a similar explanation.

contention that noteworthiness is to be explained by cultural circumstances and not by inborn superiority. What these cultural circumstances are, we have partly seen and a true science of culture would trace them one by one. The results also indicate that culture, broadly speaking, is one and does not presuppose special inborn aptitudes.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the notion that since noteworthiness appears to be due to social causes acting on the individual, posterity will eventually so organise society as to raise the general level of humanity to the level at present occupied, say, by class three, intellectually, morally, and æsthetically. The strangeness, or even at first sight eccentricity, of this conclusion should not prevent us from accepting or rejecting it on its merits. Certainly, the more popular hereditarian theory is violently in conflict with the facts of experience at almost all points and is also based on a palpably unsound theory of human as compared to animal mentality.

WE shall now return from our digression. Galton only indirectly and incidentally, as it were, deals with the problem of the nature of superior ability and yet nothing could be more important for enabling us to see matters in the right light than a thorough analysis of this factor. The components he stresses are, as we have already stated, energy, health, perseverance, practical business habits, a good memory, independence of character, mechanical aptitudes, and love of truth. All or most of these, it may be admitted, might be necessary for high renown and yet it seems scarcely possible to doubt that in a great many cases all or several of the above qualities may exist in an individual without the concomitant notable performance. In other words, Galton tells of certain qualities the absence of which as a whole make greatness improbable, rather than of the positive qualities which distinguish it and, moreover, he does not inform us how far they may not be socially evoked in average individuals. One might single out, among other factors, great intensity of interest (itself an environmental product) combined with relatively favourable historical, social, and individual circumstances and the aiming at the attainment of a notable and socially esteemed purpose. These factors, however, may become characteristic of a whole people, if social circumstances favour them, and from this point of view it would be invaluable to study the origin and dynamics of greatness.⁵⁵ The existence of a variety of inclinations need not disturb us, for as Galton exceedingly well expresses it, "different aspects of the multifarious character of man respond to different calls from without, so that the same individual, and much more, the same race, may behave very differently at different epochs."⁵⁶ If, then, superior ability should prove to be a composite environmental

⁵⁴ See Chapter VI, Section 3, of my *THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF MAN* (1931).

⁵⁵ On this subject, see the article previously referred to.

⁵⁶ *INQUIRIES*, p. 128.

product, its explanation and universal dissemination would be possible without reference to superior native ability or to superior heredity.

To judge by Galton's lamentations over the sinister influence of the Dark and of the Middle Ages, over the tyranny and the persecutions which prevailed up to recent centuries, and over the virtually universal discouragement of independent thought almost to our day, one would expect that all eminence and illustriousness had been crushed out of mankind (if they ever had an opportunity of developing) long before the arrival of the twentieth century. Yet the nineteenth century showed scarcely any sign of being inferior to any of its predecessors, omitting quite exceptional periods, and the Renaissance, as Galton himself agrees, followed on the heel of ages of ruthless repression of persons of independent character and high ability. Exceptional capacity and its hereditary transmission cannot be therefore, to any appreciable extent, true causes of human progress. Nor can our conclusion be less negative when we compare the hopelessly erratic manner in which eminence and illustriousness appear, with the fundamental eugenic conception of ability in certain families developing from generation to generation until, passing systematically upward from class ten to class one, eminence and, finally, illustriousness crown the evolutionary process. If impartially analysed, the facts as marshalled by Galton in his *HEREDITARY GENIUS* and *NOTEWORTHY FAMILIES*, are the grossest conceivable travesty of his theory. They obviously demand a restatement in terms of more or less capricious environment, for with nothing but his data to guide us, we should be at an utter loss as to what families we should favour above others in order to improve the race through evolutionary means.

SINGULARLY enough, Galton sometimes clearly saw the immense potentialities residing in human nature, as the following striking passage, in flat contradiction to the eugenic theory which postulates that men are by nature what they appear to be in fact, indicates : "Different aspects of the multifarious character of man respond to different calls from without, so that the same individual, and, much more, the same race, may behave very differently at different epochs. There may have been no fundamental change of character, but a different phase or mood of it may have been evoked by special circumstances, or those persons in whom that mood is naturally dominant may through some accident have the opportunity of acting for the time as representatives of the race. The same nation may be seized by a military fervour at one period, and by a commercial one at another ; they may be humbly submissive to a monarch, or become outrageous republicans. The love of art, gaiety, adventure, science, religion may be severally paramount at different times. One of the most notable changes that can come over a nation is from a state corresponding to that of our past dark ages into one like that of the Renaissance. In the

first case the minds of men are wholly taken up with routine work, and in copying what their predecessors have done; they degrade into servile imitators and submissive slaves to the past. In the second case, some circumstance or idea has finally discredited the authorities that impeded intellectual growth, and has unexpectedly revealed new possibilities. Then the mind of the nation is set free, a direction of research is given to it, and all the exploratory and hunting instincts are awakened. These sudden eras of great intellectual progress cannot be due to any alteration in the natural faculties of the race, because there has not been time for that, but to their being directed to productive channels. Most of the leisure of the men of every nation is spent in rounds of reiterated actions; if it could be spent in continuous advance along new lines of research in unexplored regions, vast progress would be sure to be made."⁵⁷ A Daniel come to judgment!

To conclude: (a) Galton, basing himself on what he conceived to be the evolution theory, reasons that high ability is the result, consequent on selective mating, of the slow growth of ability in families and that, accordingly, we may by judicious marriage selection and by each generation aiming higher in this respect, raise the ability of families and of the human race to a well-nigh fabulous degree. If Galton reasons correctly, we should naturally expect his quoting numerous instances of this slow family growth from sheer mediocrity to towering greatness, but, significantly enough, *not a single* illustration is vouchsafed to support his contention. Indeed, numerous cases might be cited where a man of the very highest ability sprang out of a mediocre family, decisively disproving thus Galton's basic assumption.

(b) As a compromise, however, Galton might be expected to demonstrate that the parents or the children of illustrious men, or other fairly close relatives of theirs, are always or generally not far removed from the great man in noteworthiness. In a distant way Galton attempts to show that this is so. But the evidence he produces is most unsatisfactory. Only by dint of frequently classing unnoteworthy individuals and unnoteworthy relations of noteworthy individuals as noteworthy, by including remote relatives, and by unconsciously making light of a monstrous number of exceptions, is the faintest semblance of a case made out. Think in this connection of the extravagant instance (applicable to almost anybody!) of Newton's mother's sister's grandchild's two grandsons who are said to have been his only noteworthy relatives! Or of Haydn's two noteworthy (?) relatives: his father who was "a village organist and wheelwright" and his brother who was "an excellent organist"! Or of the majority of Galton's small number of musical noteworthies who were neither noteworthy themselves nor had noteworthy relatives!

⁵⁷ INQUIRIES, pp. 128-129.

(c) GALTON believed that he had discovered tests for innate noteworthiness. He declared that "social hindrances cannot impede men of high [native] ability" and that "high reputation is a pretty accurate test of high [native] ability." Hence those who are not eminent and who have no high reputation, may be regarded as incapable of ever exhibiting high ability. Whence it follows, for instance, in agreement with his lists, that, for all intents, women are able to transmit but not to inherit high ability and that therefore Galton's future ideal society would consist of men of very high ability, on the one side, and of deplorably mediocre women, on the other. And yet, as our quotations have shown, contrary to Galton's seductive assumption, over two-thirds of his eminent men of science traced their eminence to non-congenital circumstances and he himself provides several telling illustrations of the radical influence of the environment on members of particular families and on peoples as a whole. Consequently, it remains an open question whether notable degrees of ability or eminence are not invariably due to post-natal causes and whether Galton's tests of innate ability are not altogether devoid of any substance.

(d) GALTON plausibly argues that as numerous qualities can be evolved in domestic animals by selective mating, high ability can be evolved by the same process in human beings. If Galton's specious reasoning holds, then conversely by selective mating our dogs and cattle might be evolved to the stage when they could sit with our children on the school benches and go up to the university. That is, if men differ in innate ability as immensely as they differ in actual ability—from the most primitive primitive to a Phidias, a Marcus Aurelius, and a Darwin—why, on Galton's theory, should not dogs and cattle be equally susceptible of limitless intellectual, artistic, and moral improvement innately? We have only to frame the question in this manner, to recognise that it is infinitely more probable that the existing enormous quantitative and qualitative differences in human ability are not due to innate causes and that we have no biological grounds whatever for thinking that high ability can be bred. To judge by the decided mental homogeneity of every animal species without exception, the most primitive human primitives alone represent man's native capacity and all ability above that level should be therefore assumed to be the outcome of post-natal influences or, more precisely, of men's exclusive capacity to multiply their individual powers limitlessly by assimilating the discoveries and inventions of their whole kind.

(e) IN agreement with the farmyard practice of breeding for points, and in harmony with the deeply ingrained popular belief that aptitudes are inborn and inherited, Galton might be expected to counsel the upward development of particular aptitudes rather than the evolution of such an indefinable something as "high ability." Poets would be in this way descended from poets and marry the daughters of poets

in order eventually to develop poetic geniuses. For an excellent reason Galton ignores this very popular belief, namely because most of his lists would dwindle to a mere rump if he introduced the factor of inherited aptitudes. This suggests two things: aptitudes are not inherited generally, if at all, and, as (c) has shown, Galton has no definite criterion to propose as to who possesses high *natural* ability or who is, *by nature*, "healthy, moral, intelligent, and fair-natured." Hence whilst the future happiness and perfection of mankind is said to depend on selective mating, we are left in ignorance as to whom to select for a mate. Galton thus succeeds in brushing aside the popular theory that aptitudes are inherited but not in proving that marked differences in ability are inborn and may be recognised as being inborn.

(f) GALTON lays it down as an axiom that human beings, just like animals, can only be improved mentally by producing changes in their inborn nature. His supposition is groundless. Broadly speaking, animals can learn nothing from their kind and the flight of ages makes virtually no difference to a given animal species—*e.g.*, our ants and apes are not better or differently equipped mentally to-day than their ancestors were a hundred thousand years ago. On the other hand, the colossal growth of human inventions and discoveries in the material and mental spheres from the earliest times till to-day, *due to men being able to learn freely from the whole of their kind present and past and pooling their discoveries*, involves a method as completely novel as it is admirably suited for raising mankind to ever higher mental levels. Galton's fundamental mistake was, accordingly, to overlook the indubitable fact that the members of animal species may be said to be mentally improvable, within extremely narrow bounds, by natural or artificial selection and men, boundlessly, by the learning-from-others' factor.

G. SPILLER.

THE DIALECTICAL PROCESS IN THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE: by O. G. S. Crawford.

THE dialectical process between brain and tool has brought the human brain to its present state of development. The early stages are easy to discern ; for there the process can be watched in its most primitive manifestation. Brain and tool act and react upon each other directly, without the complications which obscure the later stages.¹ It is, however, precisely this dialectical process which has also brought into existence those branches of science generally called "pure" or "unapplied." Astronomy grew out of agriculture, lay dormant for a long while, and then reacted with renewed vigour to the stimulus of sea-trading. The earliest of man's engineering achievements, together with the mathematics inseparable from them, are to be found in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and probably also in the Indus Valley. In each of these three regions irrigation was the basis of life ; indeed, we might almost say that civilisation itself was an outcome of irrigation ; for it was practised at the beginning of history in all three countries ; and it has long been a truism that the earliest centres of civilisation are found in great river-valleys. Without a technique of accurate measurement such constructions as the temple-platforms of Sumeria and the Great Pyramids would have been impossible ; and we may reasonably infer that the delicate adjustments required by irrigation were the ultimate cause.

THIS does not, of course, rule out contributory causes. It merely states that the causes sometimes invoked are insufficient *of themselves* to account for the results. The main motive for building the Pyramids was religious. They were the tombs of the Kings, built during their life-time to enhance their personal glory and to secure their happiness in the next world. (The pyramid is merely a hypertrophied form of the mastaba, a type of tomb very common in the neighbourhood of the pyramids of Giza). It is not unlikely that the Pyramids may have served the secondary purpose of keeping the "surplus" population busy ; for similar devices have been adopted at similar phases in other cycles of civilisation—we have, to-day, our schemes for diverting unemployment and unrest.

So, too, the progress of accurate surveying (a branch of applied mathematics) has always been closely associated with irrigation, building, mining, navigation and war. The latest developments in this country have come from the Scottish and French wars (which brought the Ordnance Survey into existence) and from the last war, which initiated archæological Air Survey. The air surveyor's chief tool is the camera, and it is this instrument that archæologists have adopted for their own purposes.

¹These ideas have been more fully developed by the writer in *MAN AND HIS PAST*, Oxford, 1922.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL air-photography deserves a few paragraphs, because its genesis illustrates very well the factors involved in the dialectical process.² The two main factors are, of course, the tool and the man. To create a new branch of skill (which expressed socially is science), constant and repeated interaction between tool and man are necessary. This postulates (1) that the tool exist and be readily available, (2) that the man be so disposed as to be able to seize and use it. (There must be seed and it must fall on fertile ground.) The tool in this instance is the flying camera. The man must have a minimum of interest and skill in archæology, he must have contacts with aviation and photography, and he must have leisure and means to develop the new technique.

Now, it was not until aeroplanes became common that the tool became readily available; and it was not until after the war that it fell into hands that could hold and use it. Actually the tool was picked up by at least five people between 1915 and 1923, but for reasons circumstantial and not personal only one of them held and used it, thus acquiring skill. Each of these others, and several besides, appreciated the importance of the tool and what it was destined to achieve, but circumstances of one kind or another prevented them from going further. The present writer would be the last person to crab the achievements of himself or another. But he speaks with inside knowledge when he says that this important new archæological tool was *not* born Minerva-like as a spontaneous idea in the brain of anyone.³ As an instrument of discovery it originated in certain air-photographs taken in Hampshire in May, 1922. On these were certain markings which aroused the curiosity of an R.A.F. officer. Suspecting them to be of archæological interest, he showed them to a neighbour of his, a well-known field archæologist, who, in turn, showed them to the writer. (They proved to be Celtic fields.)⁴ Thus it was the photographs which spoke first, and these were taken in the ordinary routine of service flying, without any ulterior archæological motive. In other words, *it was the tool that started the ball rolling!* The man merely followed it up. These facts are a matter of history.

In this instance it is possible to see the workings of the dialectical method very clearly because all the factors involved are well known. What do we find? Something very different from what is generally

²A short history of archæological air-photography will be found on pp. 3-7 of WESSIER FROM THE AIR (Oxford, 1928).

³It is true that the archæological possibilities of overhead photography had been discussed both before and after the war. It was experience thus obtained of the overhead view that prompted me in 1919 to bring the question of archæological air-photography to the notice of the Earthworks Committee. The point is that NO ACTION RESULTED from all this.

⁴Some of them are published in Geographical Journal LXI., May 1923 (reprinted as AIR SURVEY AND ARCHÆOLOGY, Ordnance Survey, 2nd edition, 1928, 5s.). See also London Sunday OBSERVER, July 8th and July 22nd, 1923 (Celtic Fields and Stonehenge Avenue).

imagined. We find that a new and important development of scientific technique (air survey) was made possible by developments in military and mechanical science; and that this in its turn produced another (archæological air-photography) by reacting upon a suitable human element. Thus the sequence of causation is Flying—War Flying—Air Survey—Archæological Airwork. The human element, with all the necessary requirements mentioned above, had existed for at least half-a-century, side by side with cameras, balloons and kites; but it was not until the tool (that is, the actual air-photographs in question) forcibly drew attention to themselves that the new technique was created.

PRESENT-DAY scientists, could a consensus of opinion be extracted from them, might be expected to proclaim the victory of the inductive method in the face of ecclesiastical opposition as the greatest achievement of the nineteenth century. The final blows which overthrew the Biblical version of early history were delivered by Darwin and Huxley; nor would any advocate of the dialectical view wish to minimize their achievements. But it is too often forgotten that the edifice they overthrew had for long been undermined. Though to outward appearance as firmly established as ever, the foundations were nevertheless getting shaky as geologists and anthropologists continually brought to light facts which obstinately refused to fit in with the Biblical account of creation. These facts had been disputed or ignored but never disproven. The Churches in the industrial age, the age of *laissez-faire* and *laissez-aller*, no longer preserved intact the powers of repression so freely used by the Catholic Inquisition, and by the Reformed Churches too in their early days. Still, the ecclesiastical authority could and did suppress the truth and bully its champions. It could accuse an anthropologist of "propagating opinions detrimental to society, and of endeavouring to enforce them for the purpose of loosening those restraints in which the welfare of mankind exists."⁵ But in the long run clerical racketeering always fails, as it failed here. Occasional shots are still heard, but people are merely amused, knowing that the cartridges are blank.

It was the evidence of the rocks that upset Genesis, for it provided just what Darwin most required (as he himself said)—the time necessary for evolution. Consequently the history of geology and of its emergence is of the first importance.⁶ Stratigraphical geology was already

⁵This was the charge brought against Sir William Lawrence (1783-1867), Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at the Royal College of Surgeons. His lectures on "Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, Zoology, or the Natural History of Man," delivered between 1816 and 1818, were forcibly suppressed. Dr. Haddon tersely remarks: "It is interesting to note that these lectures are among those at present recommended for the use of students of Anthropology" (HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY, by A. C. Haddon; Watts, London, 1910, p. 56). Religion is the natural foe of truth.

⁶The facts are admirably recorded in THE FOUNDERS OF GEOLOGY, by Sir Archibald Geikie. (MacMillan, 2nd edition, 1905).

firmly established by the middle of the nineteenth century, when the *ORIGIN OF SPECIES* appeared. It had grown up with the Industrial Revolution. One of the pioneers was William Smith (1769-1839) "a civil engineer [who] obtained an insight into the nature of strata while cutting canals. He produced the first coloured geological map (1815)."⁷ The network of canals had just been completed when railway-lines began to be constructed on a large scale; these "have largely aided the progress of geology . . . by furnishing many instructive sections of the strata."⁸ Long deep cuttings and tunnels were made, and ballast-pits in the old gravel-terraces along river-valleys; and docks were built and river-beds dredged for navigation. Coal and iron mining made rapid advances. These operations not only exposed long sections of (mainly sedimentary) rocks; they also made possible the collection of fossils from the workers. Moreover some knowledge of geological principles was of great practical use in all such undertakings, and geology therefore became a profession.⁹ (The present Geological Survey began life as the School of Mines.) Thus there came into existence on the one hand an accumulation of facts (fossils and exposed strata), and on the other a body of qualified students. The rapid progress which ensued all over Europe prepared the ground for the upheaval of 1859, when a revolutionary situation had developed in the world of ideas.

ANOTHER contributing factor was the geological diversity of Great Britain itself. Within a small area it contains samples of nearly every period of geological time. This diversity reacted upon the human element; it both suggested problems and the means of solving them. It thus produced geologists. "We are struck," says Dr. Singer,¹⁰ "by the overwhelming share of British investigators in the early development of geology as a science. The very names of the formations suffice to establish this fact." Europe as a whole has not the same continuous orderly succession of strata as occurs from the south-east to the north-west of Great Britain. The nearest approach is in France, where too geology began early and advanced rapidly.

ANTHROPOLOGY, which includes archæology, was also a by-product of the industrial revolution. The same disturbance of the soil which provided the geologist with fossils yielded human artifacts for the collector of such things. There were certain other activities, less important to the geologist, such as the dredging of rivers (especially

⁷A SHORT HISTORY OF BIOLOGY, by Charles Singer (Oxford, 1931), p. 242.

⁸H. B. Woodward in Stanford's GEOLOGICAL ATLAS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 2nd edition, 1907, p. 102. There follows an account of the strata exposed in cuttings along the main railway-lines.

⁹The late Sir William Boyd Dawkins, one of the founders of modern British archæology, began as a private consulting geologist; he was the discoverer of the Kent coal-field; and was thus one of the earliest of the many connecting links between geology and archæology.

¹⁰Op. cit., p. 243.

the Thames), the excavation of huge gravel-pits (for railway ballast and road-metal), the building of houses and factories, farm and fen drainage¹¹ and dock excavation. These discoveries ultimately reinforced the evidence of geology. They proved the great antiquity of man, and exploded the fantastic account of Genesis. Alone they might still have failed to achieve this result, but they were not alone; and it was when the rain of blows from every quarter was falling thickest that the *coup de grace* was given in 1859 and the years immediately following. Thus we may say, again in no mean spirit of belittlement, that Darwinism was largely based upon discoveries which were themselves the direct outcome of technical progress.

OCCASIONAL epoch-making discoveries are insufficient of themselves to overthrow an orthodoxy which is strongly entrenched in the social system. In such cases orthodoxy is finally defeated only after a bitter struggle, during which the new discovery is linked up with other new ideas, so that the attack finally presents the appearance of a mass attack. About the year 1693, a palæolithic flint axe-head was found in London associated with "elephant's teeth" in a bed of undisturbed river-gravel.¹² The human workmanship of the axe was recognised at the time of its discovery, but not the implications of its associations; for geological science was then insufficiently developed to appreciate their significance. Again the seed fell on barren ground.

"In 1797 John Frere found numerous flint implements at a depth of about twelve feet in some clay-pits at Hoxne, Suffolk, and referred them to 'a very remote period indeed, even beyond that of the present world, and to a people who had not the use of metals.' But the discovery does not seem to have attracted any interest, or raised any discussion."¹³

FINALLY came the discovery of large numbers of undoubted stone implements in the ballast-pits of Abbeville by Boucher de Perthes. These discoveries, first made public by him in 1838, were finally accepted by all after the year 1859, that *annus mirabilis*, in which Sir John Evans and two other eminent geologists visited the site and established their authenticity. Sir John was accompanied by his son Arthur, then a boy, who himself found an implement in the gravel-pit. Sir Arthur Evans has since made (and is still making) epoch-making discoveries in Crete, where he has unearthed a new civilisation; but

¹¹The great fen-drainage operations of the 17th century were apparently ineffective because the human element was still unprepared to take advantage of the opportunities presented. The "revolutionary situation" was lacking.

¹²See Sir John Evans, *ANCIENT STONE IMPLEMENTS*, 1872, p. 251, fig. 451: *LELAND'S COLLECTANEA* (ed. Hearne, 1774), Vol. i., pp. lxiii., lxiv. The axe is now on exhibition in the British Museum. The "teeth" were no doubt molars of mammoth.

¹³Haddon, *HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY*, 1910, p. 113, quoting from *ARCHÆOLOGIA* xiii., 1800, 204. Note the cautious but suggestive wording of Frere, who obviously saw some of the implications of his discovery but thought it discreet not to enlarge upon them.

that early visit with his father to the Abbeville gravel-pit was an event of perhaps even more far-reaching significance.

It was not until the time was ripe that these new ideas could seize power in the world at large. In itself the Hoxne evidence was every bit as compelling as that of Abbeville, indeed more so ; but the ground lay dormant for over sixty years.

WE must not overlook the social background against which this comedy was played. The industrial revolution was associated not only with coal-mines and ballast-pits but with the emergence of a really leisured class, living on rents from land and dividends from industries, with which they were no longer personally connected. Individuals of this class could devote their spare time and cash to the collection of curios and to excavation. Neither are peculiarly human activities of course. The jackdaw is an indefatigable collector, and rabbits and moles spend much of their abundant leisure in excavation. True, their methods are haphazard and unscientific, but so were those of most of the Victorians. Both have brought to light antiquities, but it is questionable which has done the most damage. The Victorian man of leisure amused himself by "opening" barrows, and by forming collections of objects. The acquisitive instincts, characteristic of his epoch, but deprived of their natural outlet, in him found employment in other directions than the no longer necessary acquisition of wealth pure and simple. The supply of material was available in ever increasing quantities, as a result of those industrial digging operations we have already referred to. The bearded and reputedly insane collector became a familiar figure in gravel-pits and places where they dug or dredged. He was lineal ancestor of the archæologist of popular fiction—a character actually long since extinct. He emptied his purse and filled his rucksack with "stones" and fossils, and was a not unwelcome figure.

It is not unprofitable to speculate about what might have occurred had the nineteenth century been in England the age of socialism instead of individualism. As it was, the profit-seeking spirit was universal. It might parade under a suitable disguise, but the private collector as every scientific worker knows, is (with a few exceptions) merely an inverted profiteer, and his natural enemy. He usually cares far more for his own collection and its "uniqueness" than for the diffusion and advancement of knowledge. Any fool can collect, from jackdaws onwards, but not everyone can advance knowledge. The typical collector likes to increase the sense of his own importance by hoarding valuable scientific evidence, and compelling the seeker after knowledge to knock at his door and beg for information, which he then imparts as a favour—or withholds. He boasts unashamed of specimens which, as he alleges (sometimes with justification) the British Museum

—his Museum really, if he could realise it—would like to have, but which he, with his mean, narrow, niggardly outlook, refuses to part with. Finally he dies and (sometimes) bequeaths his collection to a museum with his own miserable name and conditions attached, as a stultifying ordinance and a perpetual pillory of Philistine mentality.

It may be argued that, bad as their influence has been, without the well-to-do collectors there would have been no archæology at all. The point is disputable. Undoubtedly we should have lost many specimens. But how much in fact *have* we lost already through the finders' ignorance? Probably more than has been preserved. That much *has* been found and lost again, because its value¹⁴ (in every sense) was not appreciated by the finders, is quite certain.¹⁵ Under a socialistic régime the workers, through whose agency more than 90 per cent. of accidental discoveries are made, would have been taught at school to realise the real interest to them and the scientific importance of such finds; for the stressing of the history of tools, which appears to be emphasised throughout the educational system of modern Russia, certainly dates back to ideas propounded by Marx and Engels more than eighty years ago. Where everyone is taught the rough principles of scientific method and the accepted outlines of human evolution, the fun of perhaps unearthing the remains of fossil man is just the kind of thing to appeal to the adventurous spirit of youth. No doubt every school in the land in time will have its set of casts, the Piltdown skull amongst them. Young people will be told how these skulls were found, and interested in the possibility of themselves, each or any of them, being lucky enough some day to find one. Think of the effect of such an idea fermenting in countless youthful minds up and down the country! Think of what we may learn when this force is released, and what must already have been lost! Remember that the Piltdown skull was found whole and unbroken, but smashed by the ignorance of the finders, who thought it was a fossilised cocoanut.¹⁶

THE influence of the collector still overshadows and darkens some regions of archæology. It has led us to the impasse of pure, *a priori*, typology. It led, for instance, to a wholly false classification of the remains found in the Swiss pile-dwellings. These objects were arranged in public and private collections on an *a priori* typological system which has been completely overthrown, indeed reversed, by

¹⁴This is not the place for a Marxian discussion of "value" in archæology; but it needs to be done.

¹⁵See, for instances, *METHODS AND AIMS IN ARCHÆOLOGY*, by Sir Flinders Petrie.

¹⁶See a paper by Charles Dawson in the *Hastings and East Sussex NATURALIST*, vol. ii, 1913, p. 77. I am indebted for this reference to Sir Arthur Smith-Woodward who adds, in a letter to me dated December 4th, 1931, that Dawson "told me that the men called their fossil a cocoa-nut, but he does not mention that in his paper."

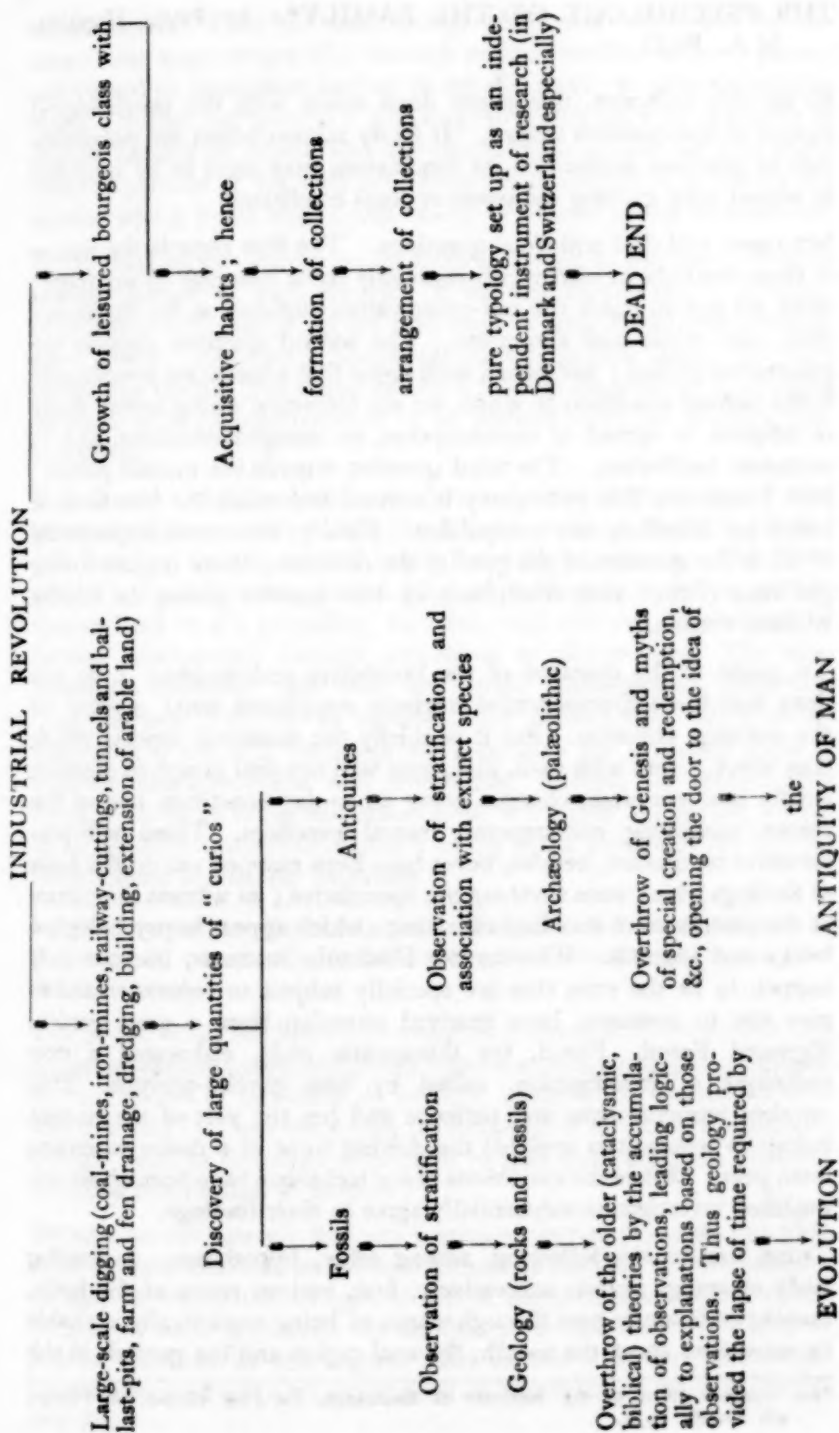
the recent *stratigraphically* conducted excavations of M. Vouga of Neuchâtel.¹⁷

ALONG this other road of stratigraphy the digger advanced, by caves and gravels, to establish the pedigree of the human race and of civilisation. The road led to the Dordogne, to Cranborne Chase, to Egypt and to Mesopotamia; and now it leads on to India and China.

There we may leave it.

NOTE.—The accompanying table is designed to illustrate graphically the lines of development sketched above. It does not pretend, any more than the text, to be exhaustive or to take account of all the factors involved. It is intended rather to suggest a profitable line of enquiry than to say the last word about it.

¹⁷See his paper in *ANTIQUITY*, 1928, ii., 387-417.



THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE FAMILY*: by Pryns Hopkins,
M.A., Ph.D.

As its title indicates, this paper deals solely with the psychological aspects of the question treated. It freely acknowledges the possibility that in practical application its conclusions may need to be modified in accord with existing economic or legal conditions.

MY paper will deal with four questions. The first regards the nature of those instincts in man which especially come into play in marriage; these are not so much the self-preservative impulses as the libidinous ones, auto-erotic and allo-erotic. The second question regards the pre-marital period; and here I shall argue that a moderate promiscuity is the natural condition to which we are returning owing to the decay of religion, to spread of contraception, to changed education and to economic facilitation. The third question regards the marital period; here I maintain that monogamy is normal and much the best form if based on affection, not compulsion. Finally, but most importantly of all, is the question of the good of the children; these require loving guidance (rather than discipline) by two parents united in fidelity without tension.

To revert to the question of the instinctive endowment; I do not deny that the self-preservative instincts complicate some aspects of the marriage situation. But it is chiefly the economic aspects which they affect. And with such, this paper will not deal except to mention briefly how economic changes going on to-day constitute one of the causes modifying contemporary moral practices. These self-preservative tendencies, besides, never have been mapped out on the basis of findings which were anything but speculative; as witness the nature of the controversies over lists of instincts which appear in psychological books and journals. Whereas the libidinous instincts, because they happen to be the ones that are specially subject to repression and so give rise to neuroses, have received attention from a great genius, Sigmund Freud. Freud, for therapeutic ends, elaborated a new technique of investigation, called by him psycho-analysis. This requires immense time and patience and (on the part of the human beings to whom it is applied) the driving force of a desire to escape from pain. Where the conditions of the technique have been observed, qualified investigators substantially agree in their findings.

THESE lead to the following, among other, hypotheses. A floating body of energy invests successively, first, various zones of the body, causing an infant to pass through stages of being orgiastically excitable by sensations about the mouth, the anal region and the genitals in the

*An Address given to the Institute of Sociology, Le Play House, on Friday, 4th March, 1932.

order named. Then the same energy which was responsible for this auto-erotic stage carries him through an intermediate stage of general self-regard or narcissism and on to an allo-erotic, or object-regarding stage. In this last there is a first stage in which his wish is merely to exhibit himself to others and spy upon them. Later his love turns towards persons of his own sex (except that initially it is always the mother who is loved best); and finally to persons of the opposite sex.

NEVER does *all* the energy go on from any stage to the next. A little remains behind at each station. If for any reason the "cathexis," or charging with energy, of the next zone or stage meets with a check, more libido "regresses" backwards to a preceding stage. Or such check may destroy the young person's psychic integration by splitting off some form of manifestation of an instinct from the primary consciousness.

It is thus if a child's tendency to derive pleasure from its genital zone by masturbation meets with a check from realising that this practice will lose him the pleasure of being loved by his parents. His libido which had reached the genital stage of development will in part be thrown back to the preceding, the anal, stage and not be available for further development through narcissism to allo-erotism. The masturbatory tendency will also be forced underground, becoming "unconscious" so far as concerns the central ego. In this last condition, it can still find expression through the disguised form of neurotic character-traits and symptoms. Indeed, its control over conduct, far from being obliterated so far as regards any but the normal form, assumes a compulsive nature owing to the divorce of the impulse from control by rational processes.

LEAVING now these necessary preliminary remarks on the nature of the instincts concerned, let us discuss their functioning in the pre-marital period.

THE period called adolescence represents attainment of heterosexuality. For its satisfaction, a partner of the other sex must be sought. Supposing no barriers of a cultural or artificial nature to be present, to what will this lead? Does the young person tend to select, and adhere to, a single mate, or to collect a harem or to pass endlessly from one brief frivolous relationship to another?

BECAUSE we can scarcely find any human society so primitive but what some cultural elements are present to modify the play of pure instinct, we may be forgiven if, in spite of Dr. S. Zuckerman's warning of the dangers of such a method, we enquire as to the habits of our pre-human ancestors in this regard. Let us see what Dr. Zuckerman himself has reported in his recent book on *THE SOCIAL LIFE OF MONKEYS AND APES*.

THESE animals resemble the human species as regards continuous "oestrus" or condition of sexual desire. They do not, like most lower animals, come into this state only annually for a short period.

THEIR basic social unit is a family group comprising one dominant male or overlord, his harem of females with their young and a fringe of "bachelors." The number of females in the harem varies from one to several according to the power of the individual overlord. It appears to be the females who act as a centripetal influence to draw the bachelors within the orbit, since the death of an only female in such a family is followed by their desertion.

At any one time the overlord has intimate contact with that one of his wives who is most in heat. The others, however, are not allowed to roam far from him.

THE excluded "bachelors" are on the alert to take advantage of every time the overlord is preoccupied to effect an adulterous connection with a female of his harem or, more rarely, of another harem. On their part, the females never refuse any male. If caught in the act they exhibit extreme guiltiness (or something like it) by fauningly and squeelingly presenting themselves to their overlord.

AN extraordinary detail is the fact that when the overlord witnesses flagrant infidelity between a female and a bachelor, both of his entourage, he at first usually takes no revenge on the latter. It is as though he could not bring himself to credit what he saw. What does occur is that all the other bachelors start a sexual fight for the possession of the loose female. The overlord joins in on this. Sometimes the outcome is that the overlord is defeated. His place may be usurped by the seducer and he himself may even meekly become a bachelor hanger-on of the family of which he formerly was head.

If such is the sexual life of monkeys and apes, the burden of proof is upon those who suppose that the sex-life of early still ape-like mankind was nowise similar. If it was of the same order, we can understand the feeling that sexuality is a forbidden thing to be our inheritance from a time when it was indeed forbidden to all male members of the herd except their overlord, and to all females except with him. We know that what is at first imposed by outward authority often ends by being incorporated into the self as a moral principle, and, as such, passed on and inculcated in the hearts of children. Moreover, the sexual life is all of one piece in the respect that inhibitions referring to such heterosexual activities as the patriarch of the herd might jealously forbid are carried over to auto-erotic activities. So it is that masturbation is also considered wicked. (And conversely, the child who has been much punished for masturbation is likely to become a man or woman incapable of ease within the marital relationship.)

FREUD, in *TOTEM UND TABU*, supposes that the more democratic order of society represents the condition which exists when the younger members of the herd have, by united action, overthrown the Old Man and divided up the woman among themselves. Under this new dispensation sexuality becomes permissible although much of the ancient guiltiness attaches to it. Zuckerman believes that monogamy came in when climatic changes forced man to abandon the fruit-eating existence in which alone it was possible for the overlord to guard his harem. The most primitive human groups which still survive appear to have attained this stage of freedom, which must, therefore, have characterised mankind during many milleniums of his evolution.

As described by Malinovski (most of my hearers probably are familiar with the recent controversy over the radio and reported in *THE LISTENER*) the custom among such people is as follows. Erotic play between very young children is countenanced. Promiscuous sex relationships take place between unmarried persons. Gradually the young people, tiring of frivolous relationships, settle down into monogamous unions with those partners whom they find the most congenial. For those who have reached this ultimate stage, adultery is more rare than it is in Christendom.

I am inclined to think, as I believe Malinovski does, that this arrangement is better adapted to the actual nature of human beings than are the more rigid systems which come in with higher stages of culture. Of course, society must insist that temporary unions do not result in irresponsible begetting of children. Society also must provide safeguards, chiefly educational, against the exploitation of innocent trustfulness in the interest of selfish gratification of appetite. It is a matter of common observation that early marriages—those in which the partners have had but little chance previously to get their sexual bearings, as it were, through amorous dalliance with various lovers—seldom turn out as well as do marriages between more experienced persons. And how, indeed, should we expect that novices should succeed at the first attempt in the most delicate business in life?

If it be asked: Why, then, was mankind not contented to remain at this primæval stage of sexual custom, if it was satisfactory? the answer seems to be that extraneous factors were responsible for the change. Chief among these were the religious, the economic and the political.

MOST of the great world-religions in their pristine vigour represented revivals of asceticism, based essentially on the sense of the wickedness of sex. Christianity, for example, was founded by a celibate of whom not a single love-affair is recorded and who by precept and example encouraged his followers to renounce family ties in favour of a mendicant career as protagonists of an hallucinatory kingdom. The world's

chief rival religion, Buddhism, was founded by a renegade from his familial as from his political responsibilities. He taught that we should despair of affecting any objective betterment of the world but should, by sitting and brooding over its vanity, regress into childish indifference about adult concerns. The early Christian fathers followed St. Paul in admitting marriage only as a shameful concession to human weakness. And a prominent feature of Buddhism has been its innumerable monasteries and convents.

A SECOND influence upon the evolution of marriage has been that of the institution of property. This has been notable especially among Semitic people. In the scriptures of the Jews a man's wives, like his slaves, were numbered among his other common chattels. Marriage was a commercial bargain arranged by the parents, into which love was a matter too irrelevant to enter. And divorce, as among most Islamic peoples still, was at the master's pleasure.

THE political influence may be said to go back to the first marriage by capture. Closely connected with this are many savage customs of exogamy, &c.; and the presence of the "best man" at weddings to-day reminds us of the time when his physical prowess might be needed. Plurality of wives and concubines came at times to be the mark of a chieftain's military prowess or social importance.

SUCH are a few reasons for believing that in sex relationships, as in many biological matters, evolution does not always mean progress. Many factors at the present day are making for a return-swing of the pendulum. They are chiefly religious, medical, educational and economic.

RELIGION has unquestionably lost its prestige. It no longer is people's chief concern as it was during the dark ages or the reformation or even in the last century. Church after church, as the alternative to being scuttled by its membership, has moderated the severity of its denunciations against divorce and birth-control.

THE knowledge and practice of contraceptive methods have, since the famous Knowlton pamphlet, spread over the occident and begun to reach the orient. This knowledge has made illicit relationships possible without grave danger of consequences in the way of unwanted babies. Together with it goes prophylaxis against venereal infection. Thus two great sources of fear have been diminished.

EDUCATIONAL advance has taught the desirability of being frank with children about sexual matters, and the iniquity of instilling sexual tabus by dominance and fear. By treating masturbation and allied offences against the old morality as no more than natural stages of development to be outgrown, we safeguard the mental health of the child. But we also deprive the old morality of food it needs if it is to be sustained.

FINALLY, the economic conditions have changed. Business and industry were formerly reserved as occupations for men. A woman found it hard to earn her living by any means other than exploiting her sex. But now that she can support herself, she can choose whether instead of being owned by one man and having no sexual rights she will not prefer to keep her independence economically and sexually.

UPON the psychology of the married state I will be more brief than I have been on that of the premarital. This is because I believe that its solution lies largely in the right handling of the preceding periods. If children are brought up on sympathetic and enlightened lines and if young people are allowed liberty of experimentation within the condition that child-bearing be postponed, then the preventive of most of the ills that now beset marriage will have been applied.

SOME persons fear that under such freedom every young man would become a heartless Don Juan. That fear is based on lack of knowledge of the cause of Don Juanism. Far from being a normal condition or one which corresponds to strong sexuality, it represents the pathological enfeeblement of sexual desire. It results from excessive incestuous fixation upon the mother. In each new enamorata the lover hopes to find the ideal type. But he is soon disillusioned and so moves on to still another. His hopes are destined never to be fulfilled, however, since what he really seeks is an image inaccessibly buried in his unconscious, namely, the picture of his mother as he idealised her in childhood.

AGAIN, it is argued that no one would settle down into lasting marriage because his (or her) sexual partner would lose her (or his) charms when age came on. This objection ignores the function of physical beauty—which is, to lure the partner until deeper excellences have had time to make their appeal—and the function of charms of every nature—which is, to hold the mate until affection shall have become so “conditioned” onto the possessor that there is little danger of it being alienated. Deep affection is a slow growth out of the more instinctive phase of love. On its development, and not on legal enactments or social approval, must marriage depend.

ADDITIONALLY there is, however, the tie of children. But this brings me to the last of the four divisions of this talk. In marriage, what conventions are for the best interests of the children who should be its most beautiful fruit?

WE are recognising that richness of character is developed by a happy childhood, not a dreary one, a childhood typified by freedom to pursue its own interests in a sympathetic atmosphere, not by adult moulding, disciplining and sermonising.

WHOEVER doubts this should compare the child from a family which has always given it affection with the typical product of however good an orphanage. The child from the loving home is not only more developed emotionally; he also as a rule is more alert intellectually. This is because the intellectual qualities are not independent of the affective, but rest upon them. The fact that the orphanage cannot provide for each child a man and woman who love it as their very own is not compensated for by any advantages it offers.

THE love which a child's soul just as literally requires for its growth as his body needs bread, can be given only by parents who are free to love. Once you start directing them as to when and whither their affections shall turn you kill spontaneity. If they were never free to love anyone else but each other and their children then they will not now be free to love these either. Inhibitions have a way of spreading.

WHEN I specified for each child two parents who love it I wished to emphasise the word *two* and also the word *love*. The more necessary parent is, of course, the mother. But her influence, which represents the home, is a narrow one unless supplemented by that of the man, with his generally greater experience of the world outside. But neither of these parents will contribute much to their children except insofar as they hold them in affection. One of them might as well be absent.

THIS last condition is apt to prevail where the home is one held together by other forces than that of mutual desire. Where only the law or fears of public opinion keeps the semblance of unity, one child generally becomes the favourite of one parent, another child of another. From the one parent who adores it the child may even receive a surplus of attention, and that tinged with unwholesome sensuousness. This is because the child has become a substitute to that parent for the latter's unsatisfactory sexual mate. In such a home it would be better that the parents separated and found new partners outside.

STILL worse may come of the fact that a home forcibly held together is not an harmonious one. Even where the partner who wishes to be free has sacrificed his desire on the altar of the supposed welfare of the other members of the family, the result is seldom quite happy. This is because of that trait in human nature by which we always tend to hold a grudge against those for whom out of sense of duty rather than delight we have sacrificed.

THE bickerings of the forcibly distrained parents are taken up by the the children, to the detriment of their characters. In adulthood these will make their own homes places of disharmony, after the model their dutiful, but humanly weak, parents gave them.

FOR their integration of character and their future capacity to love someone wholeheartedly and beautifully, children need the right parental models. Fidelity to the love-mate is an essential characteristic of such models. But it must be the fidelity of two ripe, experienced individuals who feel that they have at last found someone with whom they can live in reasonable happiness. In any other fidelity there is a spurious character which the sensitive eyes of children detect.

THIS, above all, is why I believe that the present revolt against our rigid moral code is justified. In sum, I am glad that the falling away from religion, the spread of contraceptive knowledge, greater frankness with children, and woman's economic emancipation, are making this possible. With more freedom for childless sexual experiences on the part of young people, marriages are likely to be made more wisely and be managed more successfully. The resulting greater harmony in the home must make for the happiness and general well-being of the children.

THE CHANGING WORLD:¹ by the Rev. J. C. Pringle.

A GREEK philosopher of note examined the subject of change closely and reached the conclusion that the idea of permanence was pure illusion. "Πάντα ῥέει" he announced to his waiting disciples, "Nothing endures."

LE PLAY, our prophet in this room, gained his place among the immortals by securing acceptance for a precisely opposite announcement, to wit that if we but seek them diligently enough and with candid enough minds, we shall discover in rich measure elements of permanence even in the "false, fleeting, perjured" doings of little man. You will perceive, therefore, a responsibility of the gravest kind to discourse upon this subject here.

IN this discussion we are not concerned to re-affirm the findings of Le Play, nor is the present speaker equipped for the purpose. Neither is it our duty to attempt to exhibit even one of the innumerable applications of Le Play's ideas to the present juncture of affairs. To-night we are asking quite simply: "What is all this pother about change and permanence?" Le Play is quoted in a book just published, as saying, "Change involves tension, that is, strain, and that again may easily be so great as to be detrimental." Any and every human soul or group of souls may be strained to the point of agony by this, to them, horrible fact of change.

Equally does the longing for change grow easily to the point of agony. A foreigner possessed of no English whatever but the two exchangeable phrases "How awful!" and "What a shame!" could take an effective and idiomatic part in a prolonged dialogue with 999 out of 1,000 of the lieges of King George without the slightest risk of being found out. In other words, the thought uppermost in the mind of almost everyone of us at any moment is the desirability of something becoming different forthwith. Turning the picture round just once more, it is of course notorious that as a people we insist upon having and doing what we are accustomed, *coûte que coûte*.

It is plain that our discussion will be hopelessly inadequate unless we give full value to both longings and both agonies; we repeat "agonies" because so much emotion is aroused either way. How the innovators have been bored! The Athenians never tired of singing songs in praise of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, two excitable youths who committed a murder. Confucius said he could accomplish anything in a community where he was allowed to control the music. This Athenian song-singing was so efficacious that a single generation of making changes ruined that glorious Athens which Pericles bade the

¹An address to the Institute of Sociology on 2nd December, 1931.

citizen love and adore and for which he said they gladly gave their lives. Change became an unspeakable nightmare and drew from the poetic Plato the most withering scorn of change that literature contains. "The objects upon which the man in the street sets his heart," said Plato, "are like the shadows of clay figures, thrown on the wall of a cavern by the fitful flames of a fire." "By comparison that which is permanent is to be sought and found in the radiant and changeless illumination of the super-heavenly places"—or, to lend him a phrase from another writer: "They come down from the Father of lights with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

To both these thinkers that which endures is good and worth while, that which changes is worthless. The lovers of change in Athens must have survived even the scorn of Plato since we find them four centuries later getting up in the morning with, apparently, no interest in life except to hear of "some new thing." The balance between the cravings must have been a fine one since St. Paul, when addressing that very group, seems to have assumed that they would accept an essentially permanent idea provided it was a good enough one. He, on his part, declared himself the disciple of one who reminded his hearers of the fate of those who built houses on sand and the more desirable condition of those who selected rock for the purpose.

LET us now turn to our own time, of which it may aptly be said: "Once more humanity has struck tents and is on the march."² If we are to join in the march, or stand still—to reject or to advocate change—can we obtain guidance either way, whether intellectual or spiritual? Are there any ideas so sound or convictions so securely anchored in our emotions that they may be used as tests of proposed changes? Has sociology anything definite to say here? To-night we are to glance at a world obviously in sore need of some solid ground in things sociological even if only to act as pivot or fulcrum for the levers with which it is feverishly struggling to overturn everything in sight.

PLENTY of our young friends will give us short shrift here. "Solid ground!" they will say, "You miserable old bores, we want *nothing* of you or your beliefs or conventions; we only want you out of our sight instantly and for ever." The Russians, the student groups in Egypt, India, Burma and China, the Left Wing groups here in England, afford among them ample evidence of this attitude.

THERE is, however, another side to the picture. While our world of human beings shrieks for change, and we in our inner selves change in our outlook upon past and present, it is equally true that change produces

²Epochs may be conveniently divided by this or any similar aphorism, into those in which it is ridiculed and those in which it passes unchallenged. A people sure of themselves and of their institutions will retort: "Not till we have had something to say about it."

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tensions, agonies, real, deep and terrible yearnings for something reliable. The most hysterical student between Cairo and Canton will weep if his sweetheart smiles less gently upon him to-morrow than she did yesterday. When pain and sickness descend upon us or our loved ones we run for a doctor, but we do not want him to say, as he will say if he cares to take us into his confidence: "Medical science is in a completely fluid state; there are scores of theories as to why your wife displays these symptoms, the entire Royal College of Physicians could not tell you which, if any, of them is right." We want, we insist that he shall pronounce in a voice of calm and absolute assurance: "Yes, she is suffering from —; give her this, and she will be better in the morning; in a week she will be well." If he does not say that and say it in that manner, then we do not want him; we do not want life; we do not want God; we do not want anything but to be dead and done with it. Consider this example: the wife of a prominent "Red" happened to be in a nursing-home during an air-raid. In the next room was an enthusiastic Anglo-Catholic. The staff begged the latter to move for the nonce into the bedroom of the "Red" to prevent her going into hysterics.

If these suggestions lead us anywhere, it is by indicating that stability and changefulness both have their place in the life of every people: that, as sociologists, we have to keep both Order and Progress constantly in mind; and that a particular form of society may feel the need of and demand complete change in one field of activity (e.g., politics), while assuming, without even bringing the assumption into consciousness, that in other fields absolute stability will be maintained.

LET us look for a moment at the manifestations of Order—of stability—in the history of peoples. It is easy to indicate epochs in which peoples in the main *felt sure of themselves*, sometimes for generations and even for centuries, and when other peoples also believed in them, and the world seemed in consequence a secure place. No one will deny that this has been true in their day of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Spartans, Macedonians, Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Chinese, Arabs, Venetians, Mongols, Tartars, Turks, Portuguese, Spaniards, Swiss, Dutch, Swedes, French, Prussians, Americans, Australians; Rajputs, Duranis, Sikhs, Nepalese, Manchus, Japanese. Many others might be quoted, but this list is long enough to show that flux in ideas, attitudes and institutions, accompanied by lack of confidence in their worth and a universal chorus of shrieks for change, is not always the order of the day and may even be regarded as exceptional and transient. Some on the list, notably the Romans, have given such an impression of stability that it took mankind centuries to admit that it had passed away. It is possible that future historians may name alongside of them the English in the nineteenth century A.D.

MANY of us regard these as the great peoples and the great epochs. Others would refer to them as unhappy periods when the "reactionaries got the upper hand and kept it." As sociologists, however, it is incumbent on us to ask "Was there nothing *happening* among these peoples during their ages of stability? Was there no release or expression of energy? Was their condition a kind of mundane Nirvana? The answer is obviously "No": and it is possible to go further and to suggest that the fixed character of their institutions and ideas gave the opportunity for external—perhaps superficial—activities, sometimes on a great scale. The wars that gave Rome supremacy, the industrial, commercial, and territorial conquests by Britain in the 19th century are examples that at once leap to the eyes. In these forms of society, therefore, change was externalised; and the success of this externalisation was necessary to the self-confidence that may seem to us to be so rare and strange a manifestation.

SOCIOLOGICALLY there is another mode of expression which applies among some primitive peoples, and has perhaps been of importance in the history of such lands as Eastern China. Change takes the form of purely natural catastrophic events—floods, famines, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes; and society maintains a stable form, finding release of energy in the conflict, periodically renewed, with overwhelming natural forces.

EVEN more interesting sociologically are those forms of society—those ages and peoples—where economic system, social structure, and psychic content are, or seem, so firmly fixed that the only way to change is through death.

WHILE we deprecate the use of the terms Hinduism and Buddhism to designate any definite set of beliefs, they are convenient enough words to suggest the mental and spiritual conviction of a stability which has held sway over millions of mankind for long periods. Under their wide mantels have sheltered stout and positive creeds in plenty, but the transience and worthlessness of life has afforded a persistent background. The subject is familiar: it will be enough to remind the audience that there are millions of people in India who do not trouble to have any habitation or any garment beyond the minimum requisite for decency; who find one handful of parched grain food enough for twenty-four hours and desire no addition or condiment unless it be a pinch of opium. A few degrees fall in temperature in the night suffices to snuff out the tiny flicker which is all they care to maintain of the flame of life.²

²Before the British Government finally removed India's age-long scourge of famine it was wont to carry out immense measures of relief. Of the cash distributed, *only a fraction ever found its way into the shops*. The rest was hoarded, the recipient being too indifferent to life to take the trouble to spend it on food. So prevailing was this attitude that the British Government had to assemble the children in nurseries and feed them direct by the hands of its own staff.

LAFCADIO HEARN has made the west familiar with the ghostly uncertainty which hangs about the life of a Japanese. At the Bon or Shokonsai festivals the dead are supposed to be present and no fine distinctions seem to be drawn between the degree of their actuality and that of the living. So fleeting a thing is life that a lover will pledge himself to his sweetheart for a minimum of three lives. Merely "till Death us do part" would hardly amount to a compliment. The Noh plays performed so exquisitely in the lovely temples at the festival seasons express the transience of this life and the shadowy character of any other. Of all Japan's pictorial triumphs the one which the people loved was the Uki-yo-e, "passing-world-pictures," produced in millions and one and all mocking gently at life. That unsurpassed warrior, the Japanese samurai likens his life to the fragile cherry blossom, ready to depart at any moment in the service of his lord. For him failure always involved suicide, and not as we should expect a prolonged effort to redeem the fault. The marching song of modern Japan, *The Forty-seven Ronin*, contains a suicide as an opening, a suicide in the middle, preparations for one desperate struggle, and then concludes with the suicides of all the party.

FACED by these facts from history and the life of the present, the social student may well call in question the capacity of man to function at all mentally or physically if the element of stability is withdrawn from the social life about him. It is one thing to say; "All this is unsatisfactory; let us change it and get something better and therefore more stable"; quite another to say and feel; "Nothing is stable; this will pass like everything else; let it pass then, and the sooner the better and us with it." We imagine that our impatient young friends will join the former group. They do not mind how stable a form of society is so long as it is theirs and not ours! It will be as well to remind them that undue impatience and destructiveness have often brought on epochs in which no one believed in any stability and in which consequently nothing was stable except drifting upon a very low level. In Corea, when the breath of the West blew in upon the country in the eighties of last century, the population was declining fast, land going out of cultivation, beautiful cities almost wholly deserted. In China a recent volume, *THROUGH THE DRAGON'S EYES*, by an American who has served side by side with Chinese in many departments for fifty years, gives a vivid picture of a great and talented people who have ceased to feel it worth while to try.

THESE examples are culled, for the most part, from countries containing the large majority of the human race, and which have, in their positive and believing periods, produced more social, political, military, literary and artistic triumphs than the West. In startling contrast to these appear the countries of Progress—the lands in Europe and America

where internal change has been frequent in the past and is to-day the central object of public attention. It would be interesting, if time permitted, to linger over the conditions and concomitants of that changeability: temperate climate, opportunities for sea-traffic, commerce and emigration, types of family, inheritance from the past. We must, however, pass on to our central problem, merely remarking that no social student can shut his eyes to the Protean character of many of the changes that have passed over us. (*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*)

IN every class-room in the Far East for a millenium has been exhibited in the place of honour the symbol, sounded Chu, which means "Loyalty." This seems to take us to the very centre of our problem. On the one hand that Far Eastern world seems to hold life to be a transient thing of very little worth, but on the other hand, instead of saying with St. Paul, "Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die," they seem to say: In this fleeting business the one thing worth troubling about is spiritual and it in turn acquires its value from its permanence. Let life go! Yes! willingly, but not the unswerving adherence of my soul to the object of its devotion.

THE loftiest spirits in Japan are as true to this ideal to-day as ever they were. In China it certainly lasted till the revolution of 1911, though it may well have vanished in the present frightful debacle. One very practical illustration may suffice. In the Boxer affair of 1900 the Dowager Empress had made up her mind to take the risk of wiping out the foreign legations. She nearly succeeded in doing so, as it was, and would have quite succeeded in a few hours had the Manchu Prince Jung Lu allowed the artillery of which he was in command, to be used. It happened that the old lady liked Jung Lu or she would have ordered his instant execution. For his part, Jung Lu believed a massacre of the foreign ambassadors was contrary to the interests of the Empire, and true to the tradition of two millenia, he refused to obey an order he believed to be wrong and was quite prepared to take the consequences. This is precisely what was not done over and over again all over Europe whether in the incidents leading up to the Great War or during or after the war itself. What Jung Lu in 1900 did as a matter of course has been too exalted a line of conduct for anyone in the Western world in our time.

DOES this mean that a contemptuous indifference to life tempered by a sublime spirituality in the noblest, accompanied by low standards and lethargy in the generality, makes on the whole a better world than the Western one, where life and the good things are too desirable to part with for an ideal, but where nearly everybody thinks life a good thing and tries not to make too poor a fist of it while he is here? As we have put it, the question anticipates the answer, "No." We lack

the sad sublimity of Jung Lu, General Nogi and the 47 Ronin, but we love and admire it. Have we any links with it? Can we hope to borrow greatness from it, while retaining our much less majestic love of life and the good things? Can we have a *permanence in change* without the dark pessimism of the Far East? Has the West ever contributed any ideas helpful in this direction?

THE idea of having links with Jung Lu and his peers is so attractive to the present writer that he would rather establish it by speculative guesses than not at all. Sakya Muni (a foreigner in India) Confucius and Periclean Athens were roughly contemporaries, and all three just enough later than Jeremiah to have been products of peripatetic disciples of his. The journey across Asia to the Yellow River was easy then and a recognised "bus-route."

JEREMIAH was as heartbroken about the state of affairs he saw around him as the most agonised and frantic of our young change-merchant revolutionists are to-day. In the main he looked back. His most frequent refrains are: "Then it was well with you," and "Turn again." Perhaps the most arresting metaphor in all poetry is Jeremiah's "the love of thine early espousals." From this lyrical poet to the staid Kung-futse seems a far cry and yet he said precisely the same thing. "Your social, family and personal relations were at one time perfect. You have nothing to do but to turn back to them." The Periclean Aristophanes only wore the comic mask because it was safer to utter candid Jeremiads behind it. The cure he offers to the corrupted and degenerate Demos of his day is a hot bath and a return to the days of Miltiades. Homer before him never tired of lamenting with the writer of Genesis: "There were giants on the earth *then*." The Far East has looked back to its divine ancestors ever since. So did the Romans—the golden age belonged to the time of Saturn. The noble families who made the greatness of Rome derived their virtues from the founders of their lineage.

YET there is a forward-looking idealism as well. Jeremiah promised his "Branch"; Confucius was always hoping that *some* prince would really resist the seductions of the fair sex and rule like the Divine Emperors;⁴ Plato, too chagrined by the abominations of demagogues and revolutionaries to place much faith in the future, found "many mansions" available for the good and beautiful in the super-heavenly places: even the conservative Romans could place the perfect ruler in the future and say with Virgil: "Tu Marcellus eris." The latest of all Messianic utterances is that of John Maynard Keynes. He promises us an economic Utopia just 100 years from now, the most arithmetical act of prediction work since the Book of Daniel.

⁴Far Eastern writers less severely classical than him fill their writings with references to "Him that shall come," a heroic saviour, and even project their longings into a Paradise in the West.

THE latest evidence that man by the nature of his mental equipment must "look before and after" is afforded by the biologists and eugenis-ists. If your genes (formerly "quarterings") are not good or mainly good nothing can save you from being a hissing, an offence, a social stumbling block. Your only possible duty is to die out. Equally on their side, the Eugenists promise you all your heart's desire if only you will systematically eliminate the bad stocks.

WHAT can we offer our young friends out of all this? The world is theirs to make or mar far more than ours. It is something like this, is it not? Above the sorry scheme of things as they are floats always a conception of them "nearer to the heart's desire." Eddington would warn us how we apply so elusive and deceptive a notion as time to it. If you think it is behind you it is probably ahead of you and vice versa. If you take your own particular fancy too seriously you will find it infinitely easier to destroy with it than to build with it. The former things which you would like to tinker about a bit to suit yourself *have already gone down the stream* far, far more completely than you think. Everything our generation believed in its youth about health and strength, human personality, matter, force, economics, morals—what you will—has gone. Not the rashest girl in her reddest frenzy of Bolshevik devastation could begin to destroy as war and its aftermath have "cast to the moles and bats" every foothold of security known to us twenty years ago.

J. A. WHITEHEAD has summed it all up more plainly than most in more than one of his recent utterances. Most of life has to be carried on by routine and if the essential routines perish, the processes of life go with them. None the less humanity will have change. When the symbols by which it lived gladly during an epoch have become stale and boring, new ones it must have and will have. The wisdom to escape catastrophe and the abomination of desolation, not to "become as Shiloh is," lies in preserving amid change the salutary routines and this is accomplished by the right selection of symbols. In this room we recommend the searchers for the saving symbols to go back to Le Play; they will not go far wrong.

TRIBUTES TO THE MEMORY OF VICTOR BRANFORD. IV.

BEFORE this series of Tributes closes it may be fitting that we should join in adding one from the viewpoint that we had the advantage of occupying.

ONE of the ideas or ideals that Victor Branford had in mind in founding Le Play House was that it should be the residence of a small collegiate group learning sociology under his guidance. And such in effect it was: although the number of residents rarely rose above four, and some short-period residents were not interested in sociology, and perhaps gained nothing during their stay. We, however, are able to write as representatives of the others—those to whom their stay at Le Play House was a period of radical reshaping of ideas: the giving up of worn-out beliefs, the criticism and clarification of current modes of thinking, and perhaps a final orientation to the central problems of life. In these respects we owed everything to Brandford; and this tribute speaks of him as a teacher *vis-à-vis* his pupils, or better a Master with his disciples—for so, we think, he himself conceived his task.

ON a surface view there could be no more unsystematic teacher than Branford. We are told that, many years ago, he was a successful lecturer and tutor on academic lines: and his endowments for such work were, of course, unquestionable. He also gave many formal lectures at Le Play House, some of them to sympathetic audiences; but on these occasions he was apt to be restrained, unhappy, unable to express his ideas, sometimes even quite at a loss. We saw him at work in a very different way. His great time for teaching us was at the breakfast table; his method, entirely incidental and opportunist. He would descend from his attic at about 8.30: run rapidly through his letters, glance at the newspaper and hurry over his food. This was a process better performed without an audience. As in many other things, so with the invariable soft boiled egg he was brilliant, forceful but perhaps a little unsafe. The quick pointed beard that flickered with the rapier thrusts of his mind and even at times the blue tie that so exactly matched his vivid blue eyes shared generously in the meal. It is hard to laugh and read and talk and eat all at once. The meal over he would devote himself to coffee and conversation until an engagement in the City (frequently timed, it seemed, for an hour already past) dragged him hurriedly away.

SOMETHING in his letters or in the newspaper, or perhaps something that one of us said or questioned would start the talk; it did not matter what, so long as Branford found a link with his own experience, reading, or thought. Once started, the discussion had something Socratic in its power and its independence of our wills; we would feel as if a wide sea were opening out, giving a sense of surprise, even of fear;

what we had thought of as firm land of thought was receding or patently breaking up ; while Branford rode the waves smilingly, at one moment seeming to sympathise with our uncharted distress, at another showing delight in his own control of the scene, and summoning some final lightning flash to illumine it and complete our discomfiture.

THAT queer startling illumination was one main feature of the talks. Again and again his listeners' minds (and even their bodies) would jump as for the first time they saw the obvious truth, so long hidden, so easily revealed. Not all of it was genuine. Much that then was clearly seen has lain again in darkness since, and may never be seen again now he is dead ; but still we think that in that fairy light we saw real shapes of things that are. Yet it was failure on Branford's part—this is his own doctrine—that we saw only by his light. It was a failure even when he was with us : in his absence, or for those who know him by books alone, it robbed his work of much of its value.

ONE or two experiences of this kind made us avid for more ; we looked forward with keen joy to each morning meal. In time we came to see something, at least, of the secret of Brandford's power. In part that lay in the *accuracy* of his mind—an accuracy that was probably visual at root*—and appeared in his power of memory, his quick grip of fresh ideas and situations, the clear flow of his own thought. With this went exceptional *analytic* power, disciplined to a high decree by a training in scientific method ; this made it possible for him to sort out, separate and classify with extraordinary rapidity all the material that came within his field. Most important, however, was his *socio-logical system* ; this was not merely something that he had thought out and made his own ; it *was* Branford ; it was so thoroughly and intimately him—like digestion or heart-beat—that in a very real sense he had better not have thought about it, and when he did so (as in some of his writings) he upset its instantaneous and inevitable working. To us it was (and is in memory) a marvellous experience to have had daily contact with a mind in which a system of such range and power was ceaselessly at work : a system in which every person and event—the smallest and the greatest—the charwoman on the front steps, the German reparations crisis—found its appointed place.

WITH all this there was no pose, no assumption of authority, no pontifical voice, no studied gesture. All such apparatus was alien to Branford's method ; he just said what he thought. No careful preparation ; no ordering of experience or material to suit the development of an idea. He valued that when done by others, rejoiced to see it well done ; but with us, he seemed to take the opportunist line ; he and we were grown men, in the stream of life ; sociology must work

*But often weirdly an accuracy of thought, of ideas, that was in no way lessened by a wild inaccuracy of fact : the columns of figures were often wrong : the total was right.

in those circumstances, subsuming all it might chance to meet in its day's journey, or it was no sociology. It must—he showed by example—be consistent with a fine humour, a penetrating sense of æsthetic values, a profound moral insight; indeed these must be inseparable from it.

THE first of the two authors adds this more personal tribute.

"YOU who knew him may remember him again for a moment as you read. What can I do for the others? Take this then to heart, that an unlearned man, a stranger to him, younger by nearly 40 years, who started work with him only to earn a room in London became first his pupil and then his friend. A friend (surely he was not mistaken? surely Branford was not just being kind?) equal in status, the gulf of years crossed and ignorance itself ignored. Would many great men have stooped so far? He remade me, he started to educate me, he altered my whole outlook for ever. That was the Branford whose books you have (or have not) read. I wish you had heard him laugh, I wish you had seen his eyes. Then you would have known our friend and the blow death struck at us two years ago."

GEOFFREY DAVIES.

ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON.

COMMUNICATIONS.

PROGRAMMES OF STUDIES FOR THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS, 1933.

PROFESSOR G. L. Duprat, General Secretary, has sent copies of two programmes of studies for use in connection with the Eleventh International Congress on Sociology, which is due to meet in Geneva in the autumn of 1933. These programmes, which deal with the two topics to be discussed at the Congress—Foresight (or Prediction) in Sociology, and the Human Habitat—have been translated from the French by Miss L. E. Spear and are printed below.

FORESIGHT IN SOCIOLOGY.

QUESTIONS proposed for the study of the federated Institutes of Sociology and Sociological Societies and of members or associates.

I. HISTORY OF FACTS AND DOCTRINES.

1. HISTORICAL prophecies, predictions and forecasts.
2. WANT of political, judicial and economic foresight; its relation to ignorance in regard to sociological matters. *Utopias*.
3. THE old conceptions of determinism and liberty; their bearing on foresight in sociological matters.
4. RECENT conceptions of determinism and indeterminism; relation of sociological foresight to theories of psychological indeterminism and of relativism.
5. FORECASTS according to historical data:
 - (a) Theological conceptions; Bossuet, de Bonald
 - (b) Philosophical conceptions; Renouvier, Secrétan
 - (c) Theories of Vico and of Condorcet;
 - (d) Theories of Saint-Simon and of Auguste Comte.
 - (e) New conceptions of historical synthesis.
6. PREVISION following on statistical presentations; from Quetelet to our times.
7. ANTICIPATION founded on economic determinism; Pecqueur, Proudhon, Karl Marx and modern conceptions.
8. SOCIOLOGICAL anticipation according to Spencer and Durkheim; according to the various sociological theories.

II. GENERAL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGICAL ANTICIPATION.

9. SCIENTIFIC anticipation in general and sociological forecasts.
 - (a) Particular character of sociological "laws."
 - (b) Sociological probabilities and "laws of tendency."
 - (c) Application of the procedure of "statistical determinism" to the anticipation of social facts. "Demographic" anticipation.
10. SOCIAL progress, continued evolution or sudden variations and unforeseen creations; their sociological effects.
11. ANTICIPATION after analysis of the separate functions and sociological synthesis. Relations with "organic finality" and with "functional sociology."

III. VARIOUS SOCIOLOGICAL FORECASTS.

12. FORECAST of economic organisation :
 - (a) Forecasts of production and of consumption.
 - (b) Commercial and banking forecast.
 - (c) Forecast of crises and of return to normal relations ;
 - (d) Forecast of total transformation of the general economic system —of effects of discoveries, inventions (with adoption or rejection of the proposed improvements).
13. FORECAST of political and judicial transformations.
14. FORECAST of transformations of manners and of religions.
15. FORECAST of transformations in education and in common aspirations.
16. SOCIOLOGICAL forecasting in art.
17. FORECASTS of social conflicts and wars.
18. FORECASTS of international relations and ethnical transformations ; oppositions and assimilations ; federalism.
19. FORECASTS of forms of social solidarity, of various structures, and of their interdependence.
20. SOCIO-PATHOLOGICAL forecasts.

IV. SOCIOLOGICAL FORESIGHT AND SOCIAL ACTION.

21. PART played by sociological foresight in social economy.
22. PART played by sociological foresight in social hygiene.
23. PART played by sociological foresight in social welfare.
24. PART played by sociological foresight in politics, in jurisprudence, in alterations of the law (industrial law, commercial law, international law, law of property, etc.).
25. PART played by sociological foresight in education and art.
26. RELATIONS between sociological anticipation and action. The " world plan."

THE HUMAN HABITAT.

PROGRAMME of the questions proposed for the study of the federated Institutes of Sociology and Sociological Societies and of Members or Associates.

I. GENERAL SOCIOLOGY.

1. SOCIOLOGY of the habitation (or ecology) in its bearing on general sociology and on practice.
2. ECOLOGY and social economy.
3. ECOLOGY and social hygiene.
4. ECOLOGY and demography ; optimum of the population from the point of view of accommodation.

II. SOCIAL MORPHOLOGY.

5. PREHISTORIC and savage habitats.
6. THE human habitat in ancient civilisations.
7. THE habitat in modern civilisations.
8. THE contemporary habitat ; its various existing types.
9. CHANGES in the principal types of habitat.

III. SOCIAL PHYSIOLOGY.

10. SOCIAL factors in the changes in habitat.
 - (a) Adaptation to physical environment.
 - (b) Human industry and the progress of techniques.
 - (c) Economic functions, the "standards of living."
 - (d) Political functions.
 - (e) Legal functions—changes in the law of property, of occupation, of usage.
 - (f) Ethico-religious functions; habits, traditions, customs, sexual morality, education, etc.
 - (g) Aesthetic feelings and art.
 - (h) Hygiene.
11. CONNECTION between the different social structures and changes in the human habitat.
 - (a) Community and village structures.
 - (b) Rural and urban structures.
 - (c) Family and local structures.
 - (d) Regional, national, ethnical and international structures.
 - (e) The whole of the interdependent structures of a civilisation.
 - (f) Differentiation, division of labour and methods of integration.

IV. SOCIAL PATHOLOGY.

12. THE insufficiency of habitat with reference to the needs of populations.
13. EXCESSIVE luxury and destitution and pauperism.
14. ABSENCE of ability; indifference and disintegration.
15. ROUTINE, superstitions and survivals, etc.

V. PRACTICAL ECOLOGY AND URBANISM.

16. SOCIOLOGICAL groundwork of ecological theory and of urbanism.
17. SOCIAL reforms and urbanism; social economy, hygiene, prophylaxis, social assistance and insurance.
18. ARCHITECTURE, fine arts and urbanism.
19. THE part played by public economy in the organisation of the habitat.
20. RELATIONS to be established between the rural habitat and the urban habitat; part played by communications, means of transport, etc.
21. GENERAL improvement in social conditions and alterations in habitat.
22. THE planning of new cities; cities for workers, satellite cities, garden cities, etc.
23. CHEAP housing for workers:—housing at moderate rentals; house purchase by instalments; non-distrainable family property.
24. ALTERATIONS in the law in favour of the organised habitat.

THESE programmes give only indications which are probably incomplete: they are in no way restrictive. The authors of papers or of oral communications (previously summarised in writing) are, however, requested to refer to them as far as possible with a view to the order to be observed in the discussions and in publications.

THE STUDY OF CIVICS AND POLITICS.*

By the study of Civics is meant the study of the institutions, activities, and relationships (past, present, and future) of men and women living in communities, especially in cities; politics widens the content of the study to embrace the whole of society, with special reference to all the reactions of nationality, chiefly in its governmental sense. The aim of the subject is to arouse interest, give knowledge, and inspire devotion.

GENERAL COURSE.

The Family as the social unit. Wandering tribes; Hebrew, Greek, and Roman families; changes in the middle ages; an Anglo-Saxon household; disruption at industrial revolution; modern problems of the family (housing, married women's labour, a family wage, health, &c.).

Villages, marking the beginnings of civilisation. In India, China, Greece; typical village in the middle ages, with its crafts, folk-lore, fields, parish priest, &c.; changes due to enclosures, road-making, machinery, migration; needs of present-day villages. Regional survey.

Towns and Cities. City-States of Greece and Rome, their government, architecture, drama, &c.; intense civic feeling of medieval city-states; towns and their charters, guilds, trade; industrial towns; garden cities; modern town-planning.

Local Government. Its value. Anglo-Saxon moots and medieval borough government; present administration; tendency to devolution. (No dull details.)

The Nation, embodying the strongest feelings of citizenship. Growth of European nations; monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy, representative government, dictatorship, bureaucracy; parliamentary government; suffrage; departments of state; political parties, their history and broad issues; law and justice, jury, law-courts, police; army, navy, air-force; civil service; consuls and ambassadors; national revenue and expenditure. Patriotism expressed in conserving national resources, natural beauties, historical places; love of national literature and other arts; promotion of national education, health, self-government, beauty of cities, &c.

Industry. The basis of the community's life; primitive agriculture; slavery; serfdom; Benedictines and labour; town guilds and apprentices; markets, fairs, trading; machinery; factory legislation, and poor laws; trade unions; royal commissions; labour movements; nationalisation; unemployment and its causes; rationalisation; mechanical power and its results; world abundance and social credit.

Education, on which the quality of the next generation depends. Greek and Roman aims for citizenship; monastic schools; rise of universities; elementary education; secondary schools; 20th century ideals; international conferences.

The British Commonwealth. Causes for British settlements; history, and social and economic description of each part; India; achievements in material and educational improvements; development of self-government.

League of Nations. Its origin, constitution, objects, and achievements. Possibilities for its future.

*Summary of a paper read at the Educational Circle, Le Play House, in May, 1932.

EXTENSIVE use of biographies should be made in each section. The historical background should be universal, but the illustrations local. Tendencies and their significance should be indicated.

Results should be :

- (a) A fuller conception of citizenship than that it deals with mere governing or administration.
- (b) An understanding and appreciation of past institutions as leading to our present citizenship, and a conviction that every age has contributed to civilisation, socially, artistically or scientifically.
- (c) A sense of unfinish ; and therefore a mind open to consider further developments, judging them by the light of history, of present conditions, and of national psychology.
- (d) A readiness to participate in the maintenance of what is good in the established order, and in schemes and reforms that make for the progress of civilisation.

E. M. WHITE.

THE PROGRAMME OF POLISH REGIONALISM.

NOTE. This Programme is the work of a Scientific Commission working in connection with the Association of Polish Teachers in Primary Schools. It is sent to the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW by Dr. Alexander Patkowski. The translation is by Miss D. E. Harvey.

I. UNITY OF THE STATE AND LOCAL DIFFERENTIATIONS.

- 1. Equilibrium between the authority of the state and the liberty of the citizen, between local interests and the needs of the country as a whole, constitute the foundation of State unity.
- 2. Complete liberty of development, mental as well as material, for the individual characteristics of the separate regions of Poland, forms the basis of a national distribution of work as well as of the development of the creative energy of the nation and of the riches of its culture.

II. ECONOMIC LIFE.

- 1. Each region of Poland should offer a distinct economic type, corresponding to the natural, demographic and cultural conditions of the territory it comprises. It is this harmonious co-existence of distinct economic regions, each with its own characteristic, but maintained at an approximately uniform level, which maintains the economic unity of the State.
- 2. Regionalism co-ordinates, awakens initiative, and penetrates public opinion with salutary ideas, thus stimulating :—
 - (a) Scientific research and the establishment of individual economic programmes suitable to the various regions.
 - (b) Work tending to raise the level of the individual characteristics of the separate economic regions.
- 3. Regionalism tends to realise these desirable objects by organising local associations and by influencing the opinions and education of qualified persons whose work lies in the activities of autonomous institutions of either a general or a strictly economic character. This action might also extend its circle of influence to professional associations and the co-operative movement.

III. SOCIAL LIFE.

1. Regionalism tends to give to the State an administrative structure which should assure the necessary development of the individual economic and cultural values in the separate regions. It is the internal decentralisation of administration, without prejudice to the homogeneous and adaptable administration of the State as a whole, which best satisfies the stated object.
2. A wide autonomous movement, collaborating with public administration, should extend its activity to all the essential problems on whose solution depends the development of the individual character of the local centres, both economic and cultural.
3. Regionalism tends to supply public administration with legal regulations in a form individualised and made appropriate to local needs.

IV. CULTURAL LIFE.

1. Work of a social and cultural order, adapting itself to the local conditions—physiographical, ethnic, social and economic—should be carried out in connection with the co-ordinated scientific study of these conditions.
2. Regional museums in the physiographical, historical and economic centres secure this co-ordination and close connection between the life of each particular region on the one hand and science on the other. Regional museums are scientific "stations," as well as centres of effort having a social bearing, and of public instruction: in so far, that is, as such regional museums co-ordinate the activity of all kinds of groups and associations existing in a particular region. In this capacity their autonomy will be safe-guarded, with a view to collaboration that will permit the attainment of the one common object, which is the knowledge of the history, character, and the conditions of development of particular regions in Poland.
3. Regionalism tends to attach school and after-school instruction and education in the fullest possible degree to the immediate surroundings by localising every branch of teaching.
4. Regionalism in literary production consists in presenting the human spirit in every aspect in correlation with its immediate environment.
5. Man, language, landscape and the cultural riches of a particular region, considered as the result of the reactions of the individual—heir of certain peculiarities of race and tradition; these should be the topics of interest for literary regionalism. Its subjects are drawn from local legends, historical episodes, and all that popular tradition can furnish. In the domain of history and literary criticism, regionalism applies itself to disengaging the conditions of soil and race which make it possible for a particular region to participate more or less in literary production, and also studies the reasons that urge poets to celebrate particular regions in their works. In short, scientific study is made of the soil, the ethnographical peculiarities, and the idioms of the regions that have inspired poets and novelists.
6. In the domain of the theatre, regionalism seeks to utilise the legends, tales and superstitions attached to certain ruins, mountains and sites whose history—an individual history, so to speak—has remained long-lived in the memory of the people. The creation of a popular theatre in Poland out of those elements, and the renaissance of the drama of manners by these means are the ideas which owe their inspiration directly to regionalism.
7. In the plastic arts and architecture, regionalism indicates to them the wealth of motif and peculiarities in technique which distinguish local art, as well as historical art, which itself is born of a definite environment.

8. Regionalism in music watches with special solicitude over musical ethnography, the collection and scientific elaboration of the melodies and musical instruments of the Polish people, and desires to make her folk music as accessible as possible, as well as the foundation for the musical powers of society in a national sense. In the domain of musical production, regionalism will exert influence on composers, inciting them to draw from themes pregnant with special territorial character and to present them in artistic form. Regionalism likewise encourages research in the history of music and musical culture in the diverse regions of Poland so as eventually to establish a synthesis of the history of Polish music.

9. Finally, regionalism demands of the press that it reflect impartially the life of its own surroundings, that it awaken interest in and attachment to everything occurring in the neighbourhood, that it arouse energy and initiative and invite every citizen to understand the fulfilling of his duties.

LE PLAY HOUSE NOTES AND NEWS.

ON Sunday, 17th April, 1932, Sir Patrick Geddes died at the College des Ecosais, Montpellier. He had been ailing for some time, and was far from strong, though still quite active and forceful in the preceding months. His end came suddenly and peacefully.

GEDDES was one of the founders of the Sociological Society: he and his colleague and friend, Victor Branford, worked in close co-operation to spread its influence: and when the Society became in 1930 the present Institute of Sociology, Geddes accepted the position of President, vacating it only in January last. Many of his most important sociological papers have appeared in the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, to which he contributed frequently from its beginning.

It is proposed to issue a sheaf of written tributes to Geddes' work and memory in the Autumn issue of the REVIEW. Will any friend of Geddes who would care to join in this, and has not received a personal invitation to do so, kindly write to the Editor?

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

FIELD STUDY MEETINGS. The series of Vacation Meetings for Field Study at home and abroad which have been one of the regular activities of Le Play House since 1920, is being continued during this Summer by meetings in Shetland and Jersey. The official ban on foreign travel has made the organisation of such meetings abroad unsuitable for the time being.

SHETLAND. In August (Monday, 1st, to Friday, 26th) a group will visit the Shetland Islands, making Lerwick their headquarters. Field Studies in the Shetland Islands cannot fail to be of more than ordinary value. Geographical features, early remains, historical development and present-day occupations and social life in these islands are in many ways unusual. The following excursions will be arranged:—

- (1) Jarlshof, Mousa, Spiggie, and Fladdabister.
- (2) Esha Ness and Ronas Voe via Dales Voe.
- (3) Walls and Tresta via Scalloway.

VISITS to all places of interest in Lerwick and its immediate neighbourhood will be part of the observational work of the Groups. Studies will be under the direction of Mr. Alexander Farquharson, M.A., of Le Play House, assisted by Mr. Andrew O'Dell, Lecturer in Geography at Birkbeck College. Local specialists have also promised their help. Miss Eileen G. B. Thomas, M.A., will act as organiser during the meeting.

THE fee for the meeting is £18 18s. od. and registrations should be received at once.

JERSEY. In September a group will visit Jersey, the dates being from Wednesday, 31st August, to Monday, 19th September. The headquarters will be at St. Brelade's Bay. The Institute is fortunate in having secured as Honorary Director of the Meeting its President, Dr. R. R. Marett, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, who has himself an intimate knowledge of Jersey, and has secured the co-operation of many local specialists: Mrs. Marett will be Hostess to the party. Miss Dorothea Price, M.A., will act as Organiser during the Meeting. Studies will fall under two heads:—

- (1) Lectures delivered by Dr. Marett as Director, and by those having specialist knowledge of different aspects of the local life; and
- (2) Excursions and field work on the lines usual in the Civic and Regional Survey Meetings arranged by the Institute.

FOR a meeting on these lines Jersey offers almost unrivalled opportunities. Prehistoric remains are of exceptional interest and easily accessible. The history of the Island, *e.g.*, its relations with Normandy and England, the persistence of mediæval institutions, and the contribution made by the Island to English civilisation, is of unusual importance. Present-day social and economic life also deserve close study: agriculture, administration, the influence of the English immigrants are among the interesting aspects.

THE fee for the Meeting is £16, and registrations should be received as soon as possible.

AN advance party of those who are unable to stay as late as September 19th will leave Paddington at 9.15 p.m. on Saturday, August 27th.

ALL wishing to take part in these meetings are asked to write to Miss E. W. Spear, Secretary, Institute of Sociology, Le Play House, 65 Belgrave Road, S.W., for full details.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WORK, Frankfort-on-Main, July 10th to 14th. The Institute of Sociology has been co-operating in the work of the British National Committee which is responsible for arrangements in Great Britain in connection with this important conference. The preliminary studies have been organised with the assistance of the Institute, which is also responsible for the travel and accommodation arrangements for the British delegation. Groups started from London on Friday, 8th July, via Antwerp, and on Saturday, 9th July, via Ostend. Mrs. Henry Holman, J.P., a member of the Executive Committee of the Institute, kindly consented to act as hostess for the British National Committee.

REPORTS OF RECENT EVENTS.

DISCUSSION MEETINGS.

ON Monday, 1st February, at Le Play House, the first of the monthly discussion meetings in 1932 was addressed by Mr. C. M. Skepper, London School of Economics, on THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY IN ENGLAND. Mrs. Westbrook took the Chair. The lecturer's able and stimulating account of the subject has been summarised thus:—

WIDER comparative study suggests that the role which membership of a family plays in an individual's life is positively correlated with the impact of private property on the individual and negatively correlated with the integration of society. Medieval English family structure has roots in kinship customs, patriarchal customs and Roman law. A unity emerges under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and of Feudalism. The Roman Catholic Church tends to weaken family ties by stressing individual salvation, by lowering the prestige of married life, by sanctioning marriage by consent and by insisting on the free bequeathal of moveables. Convents and monasteries provide patterns of life independent of familial organisation. Feudalism stresses the Manor as a unit of social life rather than the family. Class analysis here become important since the serf family loses more to the manor than the upper class family. Free peasants who remain outside the Feudal system probably retain the family as the most important social group. The upper class family is weakened by the introduction of primogeniture.

As the feudal and guild structure of society slowly blurs, the middle-class family gains importance. This can be attributed to the dominant role of property in the middle-class way of living and to the independence of the middle-class individual from any significant social units except the family. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the middle-class family is tremendously strengthened by the Puritan Family Ideal. Under Puritanism marriage becomes an "honourable state" and the family a religious unit. The conditions are favourable for the success of the attempt to shape the family to the patriarchal model of the Old Testament. The minority isolation of the Puritans leads to a strengthening of the bonds of subjection by those of affection. Neither in the lower nor in the upper classes does the family play the predominant role that it does in the middle-class. Both are outside the influence of Puritanism. Lower class family life is broken up by apprenticeship and the lower classes are the first to feel the impingement of the growing central government. (Cf. the Statue of Artificers.) For the upper class, class becomes increasingly significant. Children are parked out with wet nurses and in boarding schools.

The religious wave of the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century brings a diluted Puritan family ideal to the upper and lower as well as to the middle class. Moreover, the middle-class way of life is spreading upwards and downwards. This is the background of the 19th century emphasis on the family. But mass production and the rapid growth of the state are inimical to the family unit. Mass production strips the family of its economic functions and the employee system makes individuals independent of their families. Improved administrative methods permit the state to play an ever-increasing role in the individual's life. The expansion of the state and the integration of society give rise to patriotism. Individuals are to a lesser and lesser degree Robinsons and Browns and Smiths: more and more they become Englishmen. The multiplication of associations also lessens the significance of the family.

THE lecture was discussed at some length by those present, much attention being given to the relation between family life and religion.

ON March 4th, at Le Play House, Dr. Prynce Hopkins, University College, London, gave an address on the PSYCHOLOGY OF THE FAMILY, which is printed in this Part of the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW. The address was followed by a vigorous discussion.

IN opening this the Chairman, Mr. Geoffrey Davies, gave expression to an extremely sceptical view of psycho-analytic work, which Mr. C. C. Fagg in turn defended. Mr. Warcup questioned the lecturer's view of the Christian Church's influence on family problems. Mrs. Neville Rolfe urged the need for further study in connection with such projects as Companionate Marriage. Mrs. Hodson and Mr. Farquharson asked the lecturer to explain the ideal relation in marriage to which many experienced people bear witness. Several other speakers also took part. To all questions and criticisms Dr. Hopkins gave full and thoughtful replies, winning the gratitude and applause of the audience. Mr. Davies was obliged to leave early and Mr. Westbrook then took the chair with his usual geniality and wisdom.

ON April 26th, Dr. G. Scott Williamson of the Pioneer Health Centre spoke at Le Play House on the BIOLOGY OF THE FAMILY. The chair was taken by Mrs. Reid, Bedford College. The speaker's summary of his paper is printed here.

ANY historical survey of the institution termed the family will present us with various contradictions from which it is not possible to arrive at any definition of the term. Without a precise definition no useful purpose can be served by discussion. The most that can be said at the moment is that the Family, whatever the arbitrary definition of that institution, has persisted as a sociological unit through the ages. There is something "instinctive" in this sociological action. History makes it clear that the preservation of the "family" often entails extra hardships: even annihilation.

ONLY the Scientist studying Biology can present us with a definition drawn from a study of natural laws.

It is first necessary to describe Biology. The scope of scientific exploration has so far only extended to the discovery of the natural laws of Form (e.g., Chemistry, Anatomy, etc.), and Force (e.g., Physics, Physiology, etc.). During recent years a distinct new field has been discovered in the study of Function. A consideration of the Motor car will illustrate these three spheres of inquiry. The "Form factor" is the configuration of the Engine, the "Force factor" is the Air—Heat—Petrol. Set the engine going, take off the brakes, let in the clutch, and away goes the machine; by the "laws of chance" a driverless machine might arrive safely at a given destination and yet follow all the laws of Form and Force, going wherever "cause and effect" take it in perfect sequence and mathematical logic even to the acme of Relativity. The motor car is nevertheless running amok.

PUT a man at the wheel and all the laws of Form and Force are subjugated to Function. Or, stated in another way, Order is imposed on Sequence. The physicists, chemists and mathematicians have as yet only explored the Universe as a Sequential Machine. The Biologist is setting out to explore the Universe as a Functioning Organism. The Biologist does not deny the Power of Form or the Power of Force, but seeks to understand the Power of Function which directs the Form and Force in the organism; whether the Organism be *Homo Sapiens* or the Universe itself. This is the scope of Biology.

TURNING now to the Family, the Biologist notes that it turns upon the sex function. The sexes are not variants of the Organism. The differentiation of the Organism into sexes can be followed from the a-sexual state through the hermaphrodite to the bi-sexual state. In the a-sexual and the hermaphrodite the individual forms a complete organism.

THUS, to the Biologist, the individuals in the bi-sexual type are but parts of the whole organism. The human individual is not the human organism any more than a bee is an organism. It is not the Bee but the Hive that is the Bee-organism.

THE bi-sexual separation of the Parts of the Organism is probably not due to incompatibility but to the need for the fullest evolution of each phase of the metabolic cycle to a greater and greater degree of discriminative response to stimuli. It is not surprising therefore to find that the Compulsion to Mating in the bi-sexual types is inexorable. This is readily appreciated in the lower animals but not so readily appreciated in the Human Organism. But that is only because the Compulsion to Mating, has, like many other functions, been brought under the Direction of the Mind; Compulsion has become more and more discriminately directed to secure greater and greater Specificity in the Reunion of the separate Parts of the Organism. Selection of a Mate is not a mere matter of Fancy—even in the Romantic Mating—but a matter of selecting a specifically related mate.

THIS specificity is physical, chemical and functional. As with all biological specificities these may be both a group reaction and a highly individual reaction, but we have no space to go further into this question here.

THE Union of the Sexes, whether it be achieved specifically on chemical, physical or functional grounds, is an Essential to the Development of the Human Organism—for both each part and the whole.

It is this Mated pair of individuals that the Biologist must call the Family. The Biologist must demand from Legislation and all other Sociological Action that every condition is arranged to further the Selectivity of Mating and the maintenance of freedom for growth in the United Pair. This can only occur from Contact and Intimacy—so that the Family must be preserved at all costs.

THE Fruit of this Union—or Family—is not the Child, but the continued and further development of the Human Organism and its Parts.

THE Child, to the Biologist, is not of the Family, but of the Home or Sphere of Influence of the Family. The Child is in fact from its inception an Individual, a part of a future Family—and to be cultivated as such.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

WHAT then is the significance of the Seed and of Progeny? There is no place for metaphysical concepts in Science, such for example, as the preservation of the species or race, etc., etc. . . .

THE Seed is an Excrement: the excretion of a Superabundance like all other excreta. It is, however, a special excrement. It represents the superabundance of one of the metabolic products of Synthesis. Synthesis is the rebuilding from the Food of Specific Products for the growth and maintenance of the body. Every metabolic action is carried on in excess over requirement. . . .

THIS excess is either stored or excreted. Stored if it is a rare and valuable compound and excreted when over the requirement of a full reserve. The hair, the nails and the desquamation, as well as the seed, represent the super-abundance of this synthetic process. The seed represents the quintessence of the synthetic process in the body.

IN as far as the individual is concerned the seed is excrement—which is stored in highly specialised receptacles specially designed to permit of Re-absorption or Rejection.

IN the Mated pair there is some functional urge which makes transference of the seed a necessity. Certainly pregnancy is of supremely physiological value to women. But it is clear that in the Organism as a Whole—the Family—the seed, by its re-absorption in the Female sex, is carrying on the principle of conservation for functional needs.

FURTHER a study of the evolution of the function makes it clear that the Determinant is the female, as for example, in animals through heat-attraction. The human female, must likewise be the Determinator. Birth control is in other words a matter to be determined by the female in accordance with the Physiological needs of the Organism. That this control has been relegated to the *mind* of the Organism is in keeping with the evolutionary trend towards specific discrimination for the benefit of the Organism as a whole.

THE Biologist will therefore always speak of the "pregnant" family—not the pregnant woman—since the pregnancy is meeting the functional demands, not of the individuals but of the Organism as a whole, and it will be through the Organism as a whole that both parents benefit by the fulfilment of this Organismal function. The personal and direct benefits—chemical and physical—are readily recognised in the Female; there are also direct benefits in the male, though our knowledge of these is as yet meagre.

WE now come to the sphere of function of the Organism—the Home. This represents the specific environment created by the Union of the parts, which will act as the specific stimulus to the individuals moving in that sphere.

THE organic value of any environment is largely related to the sensitivity of the individuals moving in it. Individuals can only respond specifically according to their own capacity. That is to say "familiarity" is essential for full response to stimuli. Just as "foreign" proteins or foods set up Defensive action, so will all stimuli. To avoid defensive response, "familiarity" is essential. Pavlov has brought out the significance of this in his study of the "conditioning" of Responses, in dogs. It is through the Family sphere with its *specific* "familiarity," that the Organism can gain from this contacts with the wider sphere of any society. That is to say that Society has to grow by expansion and multiplication of its nuclei—which are the many family spheres. To grow otherwise is merely to put on Fat.

LET us return now to the Individual, that is to say the Child, and his growth.

THE Child to begin with is a seedling, not a *Branch* of the Family. There is in fact no Family Tree—you may have a family wood or coppice, but not a family tree. The Family throws out only leaf, flower and fruit. The fruit is imbedded in the family soil to begin with, and subsequently transplanted further and further from the parent stem as growth ensues. The child is not mistletoe—a parasite rooted in its parents.

THE Home is as essential as the Womb, to the Child. The reason is that the Child is a Specific Organism demanding Specific Food, specifically predigested, as in the case of Mother milk. Any mother's milk is not the correct food, but only the specific Mother milk. Wet nurses are only one degree removed from the cow and the goat—however scientifically they are adjusted in accordance with our ignorance. Why we appeal to our ignorance when the specific Mother milk is available is difficult to understand. But the need for Specific Food specifically predigested for the growing Child extends throughout the whole sphere of Experience—chemical, physical, physiological and mental.

JUST as we must build up the power of digesting Foods in a specific manner, so we must build up the DIGEST of Sight, Hearing, Touch and Action in the same specific Fashion—through the Parents in the Home. Here is to be found a principle for the Educationalists based on a natural law. It demands the Cultivation and Maintenance, not only of the Family, but of the Family sphere—the Home.

ONLY in this way can we ensure that the child will grow into a Biological Entity—Functioning to the full. Only in this way can Society become Biological rather than pathological.

ALTERNATIVELY we can make the Child a Machine by De-Functioning it, so that it shall conform to a mentally constructed society, and these are the two alternatives that face civilisation, between which we have to make out choice.

THE paper was followed by a short discussion, the chief contribution being a very clever and humorous speech by the Chairman.

FIELD STUDY MEETING AT NORWICH.

THIS year's Easter Meeting for Field Study was held at Norwich from 6th to 16th April. It was notable for the close interest taken in the work by the Civic Authorities, the local Rotary Club, and leading residents.

THE Municipality kindly placed the Garth Room at the disposal of the Group as a working centre and exhibition room; the Lord Mayor received the party shortly after its arrival and discussed the projected Survey with them; and he also visited the exhibition of completed work and discussed the results. The Norwich Rotary Club interested itself in the Survey, appointed Mr. Linkerne Sutton as liaison officer, and arranged for Mr. Farquharson to speak on the Survey at two successive meetings. The Misses Colman of Carrow Abbey arranged a reception for the party and showed the remarkable collection of pictures and other interesting features of the Abbey. Mr. Findlow, of the Industrial Christian Fellowship, organised a visit to slum areas. Many other officials, social workers, and Rotarians assisted in a great variety of ways.

THE time was all too short: Norwich showed itself a city of great charm, of inexhaustible historic interest, and of pressing contemporary problems. At the suggestion of the Lord Mayor attention was concentrated upon housing and unemployment; but all the main aspects of a Civic Survey were dealt with to some extent.

A REPORT of the Survey (with special attention to Housing and Unemployment) has been prepared and will be submitted to the Civic authorities: it is hoped that it will later be available for circulation in Norwich and among members and friends of the Institute.

FAMILY STUDY GROUP. This group, the formation of which (for studies preparatory to the Second International Conference on Social Work) was previously announced in NOTES AND NEWS, has met four times. On February 16th, selected members criticised cases already submitted dealing with Family Health problems. On March 15th Miss R. A. Pennethorne and Mr. B. E. Astbury submitted cases illustrating the problems of the Broken Home in the professional class. On April 19th a general discussion on the Family and Social Work took place, the findings of the group being summarised for the use of the British National Committee. On May 24th the last meeting of the group was held; Miss Ball submitted four cases of Broken Homes in working class families. The Institute is glad to have had this opportunity of promoting discussion among social workers and to have been able to assist the British National Committee for the International Conference in its important work of preparatory study.

EDUCATIONAL CIRCLE.

At the Sixth Meeting, in March, Mr. J. Reeves, ex-H.M. Inspector of Schools, read a paper on "The Curriculum in its Intellectual Aspect." He said that of the three sections of thought (1) Cognitive, (2) Emotive, and (3) Conative, the one reliable guide to right theoretic conclusions and right practical action was the intellectual section. The ideas we automatically absorb from our environment are sometimes erroneous, tending to establish the static view of affairs; while authentic knowledge in association with trained intelligence constitutes the foundations of the progressive view. Education had two factors, knowledge and training, and Mr. Reeves thought we must proceed by recasting, supplementing, and improving what now is. We should give an introduction to all the main lines of current thought, discussion, and practical achievement that is our social heritage. The matter taught should be what is true, and useful for the purposes of common life and work, as preparation for citizenship and for leisure. He then dealt with the subjects of the curriculum in senior classes, appraising their values, and thought that the last year of school life should have the subjects merged into a systematic course on evolution. He said "Among the results of such instruction we note useful revision of matter previously taught, the bringing of a multitude of facts and ideas into closer relations, and the acquisition of a variety of general ideas which would substantially contribute to the formation of a rational world view and a philosophy of life."

In the discussion which followed, Mr. F. J. Gould said he would not have a dividing line between Art and Science, for both were the effort of the soul to understand the world around us and to express harmony. Science and knowledge should, however, guide the heart and will. The loftiest exercise of the intellect is in dealing with human conduct.

DR. F. H. HAYWARD would emphasise the heart and will, not shunting knowledge; but he distrusted the intellect in a dry sense. "Real thinking is problem solving," and the forces are emotional that drive people to solve problems. Intelligent tests were fraudulent, for they test intellect, not intelligence.

At the Seventh Meeting, in May, in accordance with the decision made at the previous meeting that there should be expansions of various sections of the Educational Synthesis, and summaries drawn up as appendices to the Synthesis, Miss E. M. White, F.R.Hist.S., read a paper on "The Study of Civics and Politics." A summary appears in this issue of the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

In the discussion, Mr. Gould emphasised the points about appreciation of the past and looking to the future. He added a point illustrated by the Greek City-State, which was centred on (1) economics, (2) defence, (3) the glory, honour, and adornment of the city. In (1) and (2) the accent is on government, taxes, and administration, but that will ultimately vanish and (3) will finally become dominant. Some time was spent in debating whether the middle ages were "dark," some members upholding that view against Miss White's opinion that there were no dark ages, as progress was being made socially, or artistically, if not scientifically.

THE next meeting will be addressed by Mr. Yusuf Ali, M.A., C.B.E., LL.M., on "Education for World Community."

ANYONE interested in Education considered synthetically is welcome at the meetings, and will receive notices of them, if an address is sent to Miss White at Le Play House.

E. M. W.

LECTURES AND DEMONSTRATIONS.

THE list of Lectures and Demonstrations provided by the Institute in recent months is:

Watford Civic Survey Council	February 22nd	Miss E. W. Spear.
" " " "	March 1st	Mr. Farquharson.
Kent Rural Community Council	March 15th	"
Norwich Rotary Club	April 6th	"
" " " "	April 13th	"
Sleaford: Local Social Workers	May 1st	"
Fulham Rotary Club	May 10th	Miss E. G. B. Thomas.
Melton Mowbray Rotary Club	May 30th	Mr. Farquharson.

SURVEY materials have been sent for exhibition and demonstration to:

Darlington Training College.	Salford.
Goldsmiths College.	South Eastern Union of Scientific Societies' Congress.

LE PLAY HOUSE PUBLICATIONS.

IN connection with the Field Study Meetings in Shetland and Jersey announced above, it has been possible to make a new experiment that will be of interest to all members and friends and indeed to all engaged in educational and social work. A short Survey handbook has been prepared for use at each Meeting and is now ready.

THE SHETLAND ISLANDS by A. C. O'Dell, B.Sc., F.R.G.S., summarises the natural features history and social conditions of the Region shortly and comprehensively. It has an introduction by Dr. R. R. Marett, President of the Institute, general and geological maps, and eight photographic illustrations and two diagrams. There is a bibliography; and appendices give all the important statistics for the Islands.

JERSEY : SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS A CIVIC AND REGIONAL SURVEY by Dr. R. R. Marett gives a systematic view of the work that a detailed survey of the island might hope to accomplish, with many suggestions of the innumerable interesting topics to be explored in the course of the work. It is illustrated by maps (Geology, Soil, Antiquities, Parishes, St. Helier, &c.) and four photographic illustrations.

The price of the booklets is 6d. each, post free 8d.

ATTENTION is again drawn to the five Memoranda published by Le Play House for the British National Committee for the Second International Congress on Social Work :

1. THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY : A Guide to Studies in preparation for the International Conference.
2. THE FAMILY IN THE CHANGING WORLD : by the Rev. J. C. Pringle, M.A.
3. SOCIAL WORK IN THE FAMILIES OF THE UNEMPLOYED : by Hilda Jennings, M.A., and Peter Scott.
4. ECONOMIC INSECURITY AND THE FAMILY : by Henry A. Mess, B.A., Ph.D., and Dorothy C. Keeling, M.B.E.
5. PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK : a study made by the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers.

The price is 3d. each, post free.

THE Social Survey of Merseyside has issued its fourth paper : the subject is DOMESTIC SERVICE, and the price is 6d. The fifth paper—on SECONDARY EDUCATION—will be published shortly. Copies may be obtained from 19 Abercromby Square, Liverpool.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS REQUIRED.

IN the previous issue of Notes and News was inserted a request for copies of any issues of Vols. I. and VIII. of the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW. It is pleasant to report several responses, but further copies of *any issues* of Volume I. are still required. Will any readers having these spare or for sale communicate with Le Play House ?

COPIES of Vols. I. to V. inclusive of the FORUM OF EDUCATION are required for the Le Play House Library. Will any readers who is able and willing to give them kindly communicate with the Secretary, Le Play House, 65 Belgrave Road, S.W.1.

MEMBERS and friends are asked to note that there is no connection between the Institute and any other Society bearing a similar name. The Institute has its Headquarters as hitherto at Le Play House, 65 Belgrave Road, Westminster, S.W.1. No communication from any other address has the authority of the Institute.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE EMERGENCE OF MAN: by Gerald Heard. Jonathan Cape.

MR. GERALD HEARD makes no secret of his admiration for Mr. H. G. Wells. Did he not recently write to the *SPECTATOR* urging that Mr. Wells should be engaged by the B.B.C. to broadcast regularly a review of human affairs which might help to bring something of scientific sanity into them? While it would not be true to say that this book is modelled upon the work which Mr. Wells has so ably done in the field of expository social science, it inevitably provokes comparison; and that comparison is in some respects to the advantage of Mr. Heard. It is the work of one who is both artist and scientist; and if in the former capacity he has not the genius of the earlier writer, he has nevertheless a real gift for stirring the imagination, while at the same time he has a scientific steadiness and precision and a range of scholarship which cannot be ascribed in the same degree to his more brilliant and versatile elder.

No doubt there are people, with the hard type of mind which clings fearfully to facts and distrusts imagination, who will say that the work of Mr. Heard is without true scientific value; but in saying this they will only proclaim their own limitations. The author is no mere pictorial journalist; nor is he one of the writers, all too common, who, with much learning and a show of comprehensiveness of outlook, are more concerned to advance a theory than to discover truth. He draws skilful pictures, but he knows that his pictures are hypotheses; and if at times he draws them so firmly that we are tempted to adopt them as simple representations of ascertained fact, that is our own fault. Take for example, the following account of the beginning in the Nile Valley of the cultivation of cereals as a consequence of the practice of making sepulchral offerings:

"And so also it was, when they visited again, behold though the drink had vanished and the meat shrunken to a casting, some of the seeds had sprouted. . . . At first agriculture was restricted to graveyard tillage. Man was still mainly a food-gatherer, depending thoughtlessly on the abundance of the wild barley. But generation after generation as he despoiled the wild fields and they yielded less, so compensatingly extended the sacred enclosure of sepulchral sown barley. More and more ate the sacred corn and worked for the holy acres. These spread, until the fertilising magic of the dead leader was recognised to extend to every fruitful field in the whole valley. All grain deliberately grown was sacred. It all sprang from the holy will and efficacy of the divine being placed underground."

Now, this vivid little picture of the earliest days of agriculture and of its association with ancestral religion may or may not be a complete explanation of the facts discovered in the course of modern investigation into the relation between primitive myth and early industry, but there is no reason to charge the author with dogmatic assertion simply because he has thrown his conception of the probabilities into this picturesque narrative form. One is still at liberty to question and challenge if one has the necessary equipment of knowledge. This, alas, the present reviewer has not, and he can only express his gratitude for a survey which, presenting the development of man from his origins in a past so remote as only to be measured geologically, makes the story comprehensible and coherent and gives it full dramatic interest without ever dropping into melodrama.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Heard says that "history must give pride of place to pre-history," one half of his book is concerned with the progress of the human

race during the three thousand years of which we have records, and his treatment of this part of his subject is not less interesting than his account of the prehistoric period. Naturally, however, it raises controversial issues which the non-expert can recognise more easily than those which are no doubt latent in the imaginative reconstruction of the æons which preceded the comparatively brief historical period. Nevertheless, Mr. Heard is surely right in his main contention, namely, that for both the long period and the short the outstanding principle must be the interpretation of human development as an unfolding and upsoaring of the human *mind*. He sees man throughout as a creature with a capacity for mental development which both causes and responds to changes in his physical environment in a manner which is unique. Always there is the mind making little leaps, turning accidents to advantage, slowly learning from mistakes, gaining in time the power to conceive of time, becoming capable of abstraction, able at last (and this only in our own day, through modern science and psychology), "to interpret the Seen, the world, if not as it actually is, reality *sub specie æternitatis*, at least as supra-personal mind may see it." It is as a movement in correspondence with this mental development, sometimes following it, sometimes assisting it, that we must think of the development in man's technique—his discovery of weapons, tools, fire and so forth, up to his modern triumphs in applied science.

IN his presentation of this psychological view of the emergence of man Mr. Heard has much to say that is arresting and illuminating, and he concludes with the interesting speculation that through modern physics and psychology man is in the very act of taking a step in evolution comparable only to that which he took in the far-off age when he stood erect, no longer a mere animal. One would however have more confidence in Mr. Heard as a prophet if he showed signs of having made a fuller study of man's moral development, and had been able to give an assurance that on this side also he saw promise of such a transcendence. It must be confessed that his treatment of those aspects of man's emergence which lie outside the field of operation of his intellect and his practical energy is inadequate, and one would have welcomed more attention to the third of the three qualities with which the half-man whom we meet in the first chapter sets out on the road which leads to his present position in the world. We are shown the development of his courage and his cunning into power and knowledge, but we are given no clear view of the course taken by his quality of sociality. Mr. Heard seems content to accept undifferentiated herd-instinct as the beginning and end of social life, with individuality always a menace to it. Certainly he makes no serious attempt to trace the connection in man's development between the deepening of his personality and the changes in the character of his group-relationships. He sees Christianity, for instance, simply as a negative thing, a mere tiredness from which humanity eventually recovers, and he has no eye for its positive moral and social contribution to human progress. How the "Pity, Mercy, Peace and Love" of which Blake sings have come into the world is not a subject which to any extent engages his attention. His picture of human progress is therefore incomplete, even though it includes an interesting and penetrating criticism of the attitude of Bolshevism to post-Marxian philosophy.

It is ungracious, however, to dwell on omissions, serious though they may be, and one should be grateful for so comprehensive and convincing a study of the evolution of the human mind and the progress of civilisation, and should be content to commend it to all students of Sociology as one of the most enlightening and stimulating books yet published.

A. J. W.

THE CIVILISATION OF FRANCE: by E. R. Curtius. Allen and Unwin, 1932. (12s. 6d. net.)

THIS study of French Civilisation is a counterpart to the book on England by Dibelius and it is at once apparent that it was written for the German public from the frequent comparisons made between things German and things French, comparisons all made with strict impartiality. Herr Curtius begins by contrasting "Kultur" and "Civilisation." He points out that the oldest known centre of civilisation is in Southern France and Northern Spain and that to-day France is still one of its supreme representatives. Her idea of civilisation is universal, the national and traditional elements being merged in the universal.

ONE is apt to forget that once both countries were one, but, having attained unity many years before Germany, France has been able to develop herself better and may be said to have reached her apogée during the reign of the Roi Soleil. Then she evolved a classic culture entirely her own; its spirit is materialised in Versailles; it still lives in the tragedies of Racine and Corneille, in the comedies of Molière and the Fables of La Fontaine. Louis XIV means more to-day to the French people than Napoleon, his century remains the "grand siècle," and the works of the men he attracted to his court are familiar to every Frenchman.

"UNLESS we read the French classics and read them in the way the French do, we cannot possibly understand France. All the national ideals of France are coloured and shaped by literary form. No man who is not a master of the spoken or the written word can exert any influence in public life."

ALL the other arts have to give way to literature in France, and it is to its prose, and not to its poetry, that French literature owes its pre-eminence. From the time of the troubadours of Provence there was no lyrical poetry of any account till 1857, when Baudelaire published his *FLEURS DU MAL*. It is only recently that his influence has been appreciated, and there are signs that poetry, like music, may come into her own. Music, which was neglected, now bids fair to become a serious rival to the music of Germany.

AT school the children learn to idealise their country. "It is the Garden of the World. It includes all the beauties of the earth: the orange groves and cypress plantations of the Mediterranean coast, the heaths and rocky coasts of the North, the snow peaks of the Alps, the pine forests of the Vosges, the volcanoes of the Auvergne, and, finally, the royal grace of Paris. The French boy is taught that to learn to know France is to know beauty."

HENCE a Frenchman is not a great traveller; his country contains all the varieties of climate and scenery that he desires and to him Paris is the metropolis of the world. France is made up of Paris and the provinces. The countryfolk are constantly being sucked up into the whirl of the Ville Lumière, and, in his charming chapter on Paris, which one feels he knows well enough to love, Herr Curtius points out that more than one-tenth of the population lives there. Owing to this and the falling birth-rate there is danger of the provinces being depopulated; there is a regionalist movement afoot to combat this, but it is too early to judge its results.

IT is also impossible as yet to judge the recent religious revival. Religion in France seems to be somewhat of a paradox, but it is obvious that religion there is always Roman Catholicism; Protestantism is almost negligible. Though always in conflict with the Papacy, yet France always regards herself as peculiarly the daughter of the Church, and Herr Curtius argues that the separation of Church and State has been all to the good in that it has spiritualised religion. To-day Catholics are taking a leading part in

literature. The Royalist movement is, of course, Catholic, but the Third Republic is too well-established for it to have any political force.

THERE is a lengthy chapter on education, giving details of the system, which is entirely in the hands of the State; the one on "literature and intellectual life" is excellent, but it is astonishing that there is no mention of painting in it. Altogether this is a book which every lover of France should read with interest and pleasure.

THE PIONEER FRINGE: by Isaiah Bowman. American Geographical Society. ix + 345 pp. \$4.00.

AT a time when it is reported that immigration into Great Britain has assumed greater proportions than emigration from the country, this book appears to be of considerable importance to the Britisher. But the problem of the settlement of new lands is not confined to the Empire and so the volume will repay study by students of politics as well as geographers, throughout the world.

THE pioneer is he who goes into unoccupied lands and endeavours there to win his living and make his home: he is not merely an emigrant for the emigrant may go to a region already well peopled. He is usually young, strong and self-reliant: he must at any rate for a time content himself with fewer amenities than are present in the surroundings of his birth.

PROGRESS has been so rapid in the civilised world that the pioneer perforce leaves behind him far more comforts than he has ever done in the past.

Without motor transport on specially constructed roads or railway facilities, hospitals and schools become remote indeed. Cheap land once enticed the pioneer with very moderate means, but often a relatively large capital is now a necessity. \$7,500 is said to be required in Rhodesia. When transport becomes easier, taxation, which is at first light, increases and the value of land advances.

THE end of pioneering has been announced: the sufficiency of land now producing food has been emphasised. Yet pioneering is not dead, one of the most important regions where it is now taking place being Manchuria. The land invites the settler and the call does not always remain unanswered.

GEOGRAPHICAL conditions are of prime importance in considering the suitability of land for settlement. Temperature, rainfall and soil conditions call for careful study. Not all suitable lands have yet been taken up. Some are remote from centres of civilisation, the region of Lake Nahuel Huapi being an example. Nevertheless many of the unsettled lands are less desirable and here government aid is a necessity.

THE second part of the book consists of regional examples, the first from the United States—Central and South-eastern Oregon. Here in the deserted dwellings one sees an unsuccessful region for the pioneer. "I wouldn't give a nickel for a whole section of it" was a comment upon the situation. The railways, the passing of the enlarged homestead act, the cheapness of land, the high price of wheat—all attracted settlers. The annual rainfall is between 8 and 12 inches, but varies considerably: the growing season is a short one. Even in favourable years the crops have proved below normal. In the Laurentian Highlands the timber resources and later the mineral wealth induced settlement but the land is unsuited to agriculture and thus the settlement will not be permanent.

THE volume is copiously illustrated and the maps, such as we have learned to expect from the author of *THE NEW WORLD*.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN CITIZENSHIP AND CIVILISATION: by S. V. Puntambekar, M.A. (Oxon.). Published by Nand Kishore & Bros., Benares. 2 Vols. Price Rs. 3.

PROFESSOR Puntambekar, Head of the History and Civics Department in the Benares Hindu University, represented it at the Empire Universities Conference held in London last summer. He has issued a little book on the general principles of Civics and Politics, and these two volumes give a historical background, and reach to the modern problems confronting the Indian citizen. As a sociological study of what has made the Indian people, they are valuable, for the author deals with the facts of Indian life and the manifestations of the Indian spirit, in a synthetic manner that guides the student aright from the commencement. In his own words he gives the scope as the study of "a citizen's life in all its aspects, political, social, religious, economic and cultural . . . not merely his legal rights and duties." Though written for Hindu students, others who wish to understand the elements of Indian civilisation will find an account that is comprehensive in matter and judgment. Beginning with the land and the peoples who have inhabited it, he seeks to show that India has an underlying unity of culture in spite of superficial differences, and quotes Sister Nivedita's (Margaret Noble's) expression of her opinion that "India is and always has been a synthesis."

THE chapter on the religions in India is illuminating; and of particular interest is the account of Christianity as seen by Hindu eyes. No adherent of any of the religions could be hurt by Prof. Puntambekar's sympathetic references; and he concludes by appreciating the importance and value of Religion, his view being:

"that at their best all religions approach one another, that every religion is largely born of the environment, that it is mostly a reform of the old abuses and vices in social, moral and ceremonial forms, and that those religions which recognise toleration have a great place in the progress of the world. The conflict of religions and sects has in modern world to be transcended and more emphasis is to be laid upon good moral life and real spiritual life. A system of good education in science, history, ethics and philosophy alone will help this movement forward, and will bring real benefit to humanity."

SOCIAL life is also dealt with historically and the significance of the caste system and family life set forth. There is an eloquent plea for the Untouchables, of whom there are 50,000,000; the author never forgets, in his survey, "those who live in cottages." His account of social reforms during the 19th century shows that "the unchanging East" is a misnomer.

THE Hindu genius has produced its own art, in painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and dancing, the essential characteristics of all of which are sketched. A very good account of Hindu education in pre-British days is given: it consisted of four R's—reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. But Hindus have only one literate in thirteen, and that fact points to one of the most needed reforms.

TERRIBLE poverty afflicts the great majority of the population, 90 per cent. of whom are engaged in agriculture, for India has 2,316 towns and 685,665 villages. This poverty is the outstanding fact to be considered by sociologists and the well-wishers of India. No system of government, no reforms advocated by the National Congress, which do not remedy this are of permanent value. But the National Congress, a full history of which is given, has developed into practically merely a political body, and has thus

deteriorated from its original intention which included social reform and national unity. In his discussion of the problems of Dominion status or independence for India, Prof. Puntambekar says there will be "a great advantage in entering the British Commonwealth of Nations if India is admitted to that status as early as possible. The revolution to her status will be peaceful and she will not have to fight against encroaching foreign powers, and disaffected or extra-territorial minorities who are always a danger in periods of transition and revolution. . . . But if the Dominion status is definitely refused or unnecessarily delayed, then it would be to our interests to work for independence."

THE author has done a great service to the Indian student in thus presenting to him his inheritance as a citizen, and his responsibility for enriching this inheritance for the future.

E. M. W.

CORNWALL: A SURVEY OF ITS COAST, MOORS, AND VALLEYS:
prepared for the Cornwall Branch of the C.P.R.E. (by W. Harding
Thompson) with a Preface by Sir A. Quiller-Couch. Univ. of London
Press, 1930. (17s. 6d. net.)

As its origin suggests, this is in the main a Survey of Amenities and of local life from the amenity point of view. It is the work of an architect and town-planner who is becoming one of the authorities in this field: it is throughout a workmanlike, practical production, which appeals at once as likely to carry out its purpose. It is beautifully produced, the three maps being particularly simple and clear, and the photographs very good and well chosen.

ABOUT half of the report is descriptive, the other half consisting of practical recommendations. In the first part are chapters on Communications, the Sea Board, Rivers and Bridges, Moors and Downs, Antiquities, and Recent Disfigurements. Among these the chapter on Antiquities (by a specialist) stands out as a systematic account of its subject. This, however, is small wonder; for the study of Antiquities has a long tradition behind it. In reading the other chapters one cannot but be conscious of the fact that the author is breaking new ground; categories for the description of landscape are wanting. Yet some suggestions may be made; in considering the Sea Board, a geological map would have been of help; in considering landscape, some suggestion of the main features of the different types of landscape in Cornwall (e.g., the combination of cliff and cliff-top cultivation shown in some of the photos) would have aided the reader; in studying towns and villages, more information about their functional character, and more sociological interpretation (e.g., of their contrasts in lay-out) would have shed additional light.

THE second part of the Survey deals with such subjects as Special Areas requiring protection, a National Coastal Park, Road Design, Petrol Filling Stations, and Building Materials; the suggestions and recommendations seem invariably to be moderate and acceptable. A Map of Land Ownership (if that were possible) seems to be the chief need here.

THE suggestions for Local Surveys given in an Appendix might well be expanded a little, at least on the social side.

It is only fair to the author to say that he suggests under many headings the need for further information and deeper study.

MEANS AND ENDS : by Arthur J. Penty. Faber and Faber, 1932. (5s.)

IN this vigorously written little book Mr. Penty discusses the urgent economic problem of the present day, the fact that "the world is saturated with a plethora of commodities and agricultural produce for which markets cannot be found." He insists that this is essentially a problem of over-production and not, as Socialists maintain, of under-consumption. There is, he admits, under-consumption also, but largely as a consequence of over-production; and the root of the evil is the uncontrolled growth of mass production by machinery, which is being continually perfected with a view to ever greater economy of labour.

VIEWED historically, the process began in Britain. As increased outputs were attained with fewer workers, men were thrown out of work, and the very increased consumption, which was required to balance the increased production, was made more difficult by the loss of purchasing power among the workers, through unemployment and acceptance of lower wages for fear of unemployment. Hence, on the one hand the necessity to dump abroad the surplus of machine-made goods, and on the other, to utilise the surplus of labour by such means as railway and ship-building. The world outside Britain, taken as a whole, improved transport before remodelling its manufacturing technique, and consequently found its handicrafts crushed by the competition of cheap British machine products; and so country after country was coerced into exploring its capacities for the development of the use of mechanical power, and creating competitive machine industries, and protecting them by tariffs and similar safeguards. But by so doing they also came under the necessity of dumping abroad; and so finally, the wheel comes full circle.

WORLD free-trade, Mr. Penty maintains, is in the nature of things impossible, equal efficiency in the arts of cheapness of mass production never exists, and free and unrestricted exchange causes the goods of the more efficient producers to kill the industries of the less efficient. Thereby the latter country or countries get into debt to the former, and those debts grow both by accumulation and compound interest, with a result which may be seen in all its threatening prospects at the present day. While the war has aggravated the situation, Mr. Penty contends that it would have come about in any case, though at a later date.

THE reduction of hours of labour sufficiently to absorb the unemployed, and to reduce the volume of production to that which could be balanced by the increase of purchasing power so obtained, would seem to be the obvious remedy, and, logically, there would seem to be no reason why it should not be adopted in Soviet Russia, when it has solved the problem of under-production with which it is now grappling; but Mr. Penty holds that in previously industrialised countries, under competitive capitalism, it is impossible. Nothing therefore will serve but restriction in the use of machinery; which is also necessitated by the fact that "the machine has an insatiable appetite for fuel and raw material, the supply of which is limited." With that should come determined revivification of agriculture and handcraft.

READERS who are—and who is not?—concerned and perplexed by "the economic *cul-de-sac*," will find Mr. Penty's book helpful and stimulating. Professional economists have got into the bad habit of ignoring what is none the less the fundamental issue of economics because it is also an issue of ethics, the question, namely, what sort of life is desirable and how the conditions requisite for it can be achieved. Mr. Penty faces it.

A MISPRINT on p. 43 calls for correction. Quesnay is quoted as saying "It is only wheat that is kept cheap by restrictions on imports." It should be "exports." G.S.

RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: edited by Wilson Gee.
Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia
(Macmillan), 1930. (8s. 6d. net.)

THIS book appears at an appropriate time. The widespread development of research in the social sciences in the United States has no doubt made inevitable some attempts to describe and weigh up that development, its results, and its future prospects. In this country also, in spite of a different, and in some ways slower, process of growth, the problems of social science research as a whole are now coming into view. In dealing with such a situation, one of the obvious methods is that followed in this instance at the University of Virginia—a course of lectures by specialists in the various social sciences, each dealing with contemporary research from his own point of view. The result as presented here is of great interest. The introduction by Dr. Gee explains the origin and arrangement of the course.

As soon as the lectures have been read a point emerges that is of vital importance for the problems under discussion. In only two of the lectures—that on *Sociology* by Professor R. E. Park, and that on *Anthropology* by Professor Clark Wissler—does a student feel that he is in contact with research now in being that has a recognised aim, has confidence in its methods, is assured of results, and sees these results as having, now or in future, a recognisable unity. In the lecture on *Statistics* by Professor R. E. Chaddock, there are no doubts about methods, but aims and results are (inevitably) in the background. The lecture on *Psychology* by Professor R. S. Woodworth shows wide knowledge of existing research methods in the science, but reveals also the confusion that accompanies the existing medley of “approaches” and “theories,” and the lack of unity in results that inevitably follows. The remaining five lectures—*Economics*, by the late Professor Alyn A. Young, *Jurisprudence*, by Professor Roscoe Pound, *History*, by Professor A. M. Schlesinger, *Philosophy*, by Professor John Dewey, and *Political Science*, by Professor C. A. Beard—are lectures *about* Research—its possibility (or impossibility), its possible organisation, its possible results.

It would be improper to draw final inferences from these facts. Obviously a vast quantity of research in Economics has been and is being carried on: and so with History. Yet one conclusion seems to emerge clearly. Sociology and Anthropology are able to look on existing communities—cities or tribes—as the case may be (with definite territorial locations and limits, definite material cultures)—as their objective material on which research is to throw light. None of the other social sciences is in quite the same position; for them, individual lives separated from their social content, movements or trends divorced from the common life in which they arise and are propagated, and even purely material things—coal, iron, steel—apart from their human concomitants, may form suitable subjects for research. Obviously the root of the matter lies in the present definition and content of some of the social sciences; until these have “found themselves” research under their name will inevitably have no clear aim or result.

It would, however, be ungracious not to admit that matter of great value to the student of social science can be found in every one of the lectures contained in this volume. Particular attention should be given to the suggestive remarks on Natural Science and Social Science in Professor Beard's lecture. The reviewer would beg leave to doubt the conclusions—but is grateful for an able statement of an ever-present difficulty.

A.F.

DOCUMENTS OF CATHERINE THE GREAT: edited by W. F. Reddaway. Cambridge University Press, 1931. (15s.)

THE documents contained in this book are the correspondence of Voltaire and Catherine and the INSTRUCTION or Code of Laws which she drew up. The INSTRUCTION is in the English translation published in 1768 by an unknown person; but the letters are in the original French and Catherine's are in such perfect French that it has caused doubt as to whether she herself wrote them; for to write such *spirituelles* and masterly letters in a foreign language is no mean achievement. But then Catherine was no ordinary woman. That she was courageous and ahead of her times she proved when she had herself and her son inoculated against small-pox; and her references to current events show that she was *au fait* with European as well as Russian affairs.

THE letters abound in the extravagant and flowery compliments usual in that age, at which both Catherine and Voltaire seem to have been master-hands—amazing compliments for an old man and a young woman to pay each other, though one was an Empress and the other the foremost literary man of the time. They never met, though Voltaire often suggested visiting St. Petersburg—a suggestion which had no encouragement from Catherine. Possibly she did not wish him to spy out the nakedness of the land, for though her letters show him Russia through rose-coloured spectacles there is the old story of her progress through her distant domains when a model village was erected and dismantled at every halt.

THE greater part of the correspondence is chiefly concerned with Catherine's successful war with the Turks. As she herself says, "Monsieur, les répétitions deviennent ennuyeuses. Je vous ai si souvent mandé telle ou telle ville prise, les Turcs battus, &c.," until Voltaire suggests she should add Troy to her dominions so that the "vieu malade de Ferney" might behold her in all her glory without braving the rigours of the Russian climate.

THE INSTRUCTION is the most interesting part of the book—a truly remarkable document, and as Catherine remarks, not to be taken in at one reading. It is said that she drew largely on Beccaria and Montesquieu; but even so the compiling of the laws was a fine achievement. Catherine begins by announcing that Russia is a European state, governed by an absolute sovereign: and the code which follows would scarcely be welcomed in the Russia of to-day. Her remarks on England that "England has no Tarif, or fixed Book of Rates with other Nations: her Tarif changes as we may say, at every Session of Parliament, by the particular Duties, which she lays on or takes off" sound quite topical; likewise when she points out that fluctuations in the value of its coin is injurious to any state.

THERE are constant references to this, her great work, in the letters, and when she finally sends a copy of it to Voltaire he says: "Madame, je reçus hier au soir un des gages de votre immortalité, le code de vos lois en Allemand, dont votre majesté impériale daigne me gratifier. J'ai commencé dès ce matin à le faire traduire dans la langue des Welches: il le sera en chinois: il le sera dans toutes les langues: ce sera l'évangile de l'univers."

THE Introduction is admirable and one is grateful to Mr. Reddaway for quoting Catherine's delightful little vignette of her dog, "Sir Tom Anderson." The notes are so good that it is a pity they are not more numerous. The book also contains a useful table of the notable events between 1762 and 1777.

SOUTHAMPTON: A CIVIC SURVEY: edited by P. Ford, B.Sc.
Oxford University Press, 1931. (30s. net.)

IN form this handsome volume is a Report of the Civic Survey Committee of the Southampton Civic Society under the Chairmanship of Brig.-Gen. E. M. Jack, of the Ordnance Survey. In fact it is a sheaf of valuable studies of its subject, all bearing directly or indirectly upon the chief town-planning problems of the future. There are no formal recommendations arising out of these studies, but a statement of the proposals under the present town-planning scheme is included.

A SPECIAL interest attaches to the Survey, inasmuch as it is the product of a scheme of voluntary co-operation within a large group of people, each of whom has done his share of investigation, compilation, or map-making. So much effort for the common good deserves high commendation for its own sake: and its results in the present case have been of great value.

THE field covered by the Survey is wide: it is good to see that account has been taken of natural features, historic developments and industrial and social conditions. In this respect the Survey is one of the best yet published. The division of the work among the authors is also of interest: thus the Director of Education writes on Education: the Chief Librarian on Public Libraries; the responsible engineers write on Mechanical Services. Members of the Staff of the University College are responsible for the more fundamental studies (e.g., Professor Rishbeth and Professor Rae Sheriffs): the Editor himself is author of the specially valuable section on Social Conditions. Mention should also be made of the chapters on Port and Dock development (the most important single influence on Southampton's future), and on Street Names (by Miss Withycombe)—an unusual but most interesting sidelight on local history.

No adequate notice of this Survey can omit some comment on its maps and illustrations. The latter—old views and modern photos—are very good of their kind; the maps, however, are more original. Besides several old maps, clearly reproduced, there is a series of maps in colour over-printed on a grey base map of fairly small scale. This series as a whole is very attractive; the maps of industries, institutions, open spaces, residential areas and shops are all excellent. The Contour Map and Geological Map are less successful; they embody the facts, but the use of one colour only makes it impossible to see the facts as a whole without careful study. The map showing Cultivation is attractive: that showing the Growth of the Town again raises the question as to the advantages of a colour scheme. Mr. Ford's map of the Distribution of Income by streets is one of the most successful: it is simpler and clearer than Booth's maps in the original *SURVEY OF LIFE AND LABOUR IN LONDON*, and states the facts so that they can be grasped with a minimum of trouble. The Traffic Census Diagram is a beautiful example of simple and clear arrangement.

A.F.

UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES: by H. B. Butler (International Labour Office, Geneva, 1931, 2s. 6d.) is a very able summary of the subject up to the date of publication, and includes much information upon Technological Unemployment, and Remedial Measures; it also discusses Regularisation of Employment. While the information is no longer up to date, students in this country will not easily find a more convenient handbook.

DICTIONNAIRE DE SOCIOLOGIE : publie sous la direction de Th. Mainage. Fasc. I-II. Aalakalouf-Ame. Letouzey, *Paris*. 1931.

THE issue of a Catholic Dictionary or Encyclopædia of Sociology in France—a country with a great tradition of Catholic Scholarship—should be an event of some importance. The student would naturally not expect a work exactly comparable with the recently completed German *HANDWÖRTERBUCH* or with the American *ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES* now in progress. He might, however, expect a work that would rally to its production the best Catholic scholars of Europe: that would in every important article show a knowledge of the best modern literature, Catholic and non-Catholic: and that would mark the differences between itself and non-Catholic sociological works by a consistent presentation of social life as built on spiritual foundations. In all those respects the student will be disappointed with the present work: if a Catholic he will feel that justice has not been done to his great tradition: if a non-Catholic, that he is deprived of an opportunity of learning on good authority what that tradition means to-day in sociology.

A GLANCE at the list of authors will show that many are unknown outside France. That matters less, however, than that brilliant Catholic scholars in France are omitted: it would be invidious to mention names, but they will occur to anyone who knows recent French work. And the German and Italian Catholic scholars—surely not negligible—seem almost to have escaped the notice of the promoters, or to be outside their scheme—an even worse defect. Belgium is however fully represented.

AGAIN, the knowledge of modern literature shown by the contributors is very uneven, if the bibliographies attached to the articles are a safe guide. To take one modern example which seems quite typical—the article on Althusius shows no knowledge of Giercke's book.

ON the third point of criticism mentioned above the reviewer must speak with great caution: Catholics must be supposed to know their own business best: yet a student of Le Play cannot help asking himself, in perusing the book, where the spirit and methods of that master are evident: a reader of Maritain cannot help speculating as to whether many of the articles would have retained their present form and tone had that thinker revised them.

IT is possible that the last mentioned defect should be referred to the old-fashioned encyclopædic view of sociology that the work seems to take throughout: sociology is looked on as a collection of heterogeneous facts of all sorts about social life, not as a generalising science. Hence the factual side of the work is useful, and probably well done from the French point of view: for example, the ethnographical articles, which are almost purely descriptive, are full and interesting. Consider, however, the article on the Dreyfus affair. What place has such a statement of facts in a Dictionary of Sociology, unless it is related to some general theory of the corruption of contemporary politics? The article seems more concerned with the facts as to the Catholic attitude to the affair, than with any such theory, though one would have imagined that a Catholic author would be of all men the most competent to provide it.

THE work is good value so far as size is concerned: each fascicule contains as much matter as an octavo volume of 500 pages. The print is very small and the proof-reading is not perfect.

THE GOLD STANDARD AND OTHER DISCOURSES: by A. H. Mackmurdo. (*Hobby Horse*, No. 2, Desmond Harmsworth, 1s. net), carries further the argument on the causes and remedies of our social ills stated by the author in articles in this REVIEW.

INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA: by J. G. Crowther. Heinemann.

THIS book is the record of the author's observations during a journey made in 1930 by himself and Mr. B. Mouat Jones at the request of the Soviet Union to Leningrad and Moscow to advise on problems of technical education. The title would describe its contents more accurately if it were **INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA**, as neither industry in general nor education in general is discussed. The book has the value which necessarily attaches itself to the record of direct observations by a competent observer; and the common objection which is urged against reports of visitors to Russia, that their guides do not allow them to see things as they are, cannot apply to Mr. Crowther's book, as the purpose of the visit would have been defeated if Mr. Jones and Mr. Crowther had failed to get true impressions.

MR. CROWTHER was much impressed by the magnitude of the work in technical education carried on by the Soviet authorities in comparison with what is attempted within the British Empire, and also with the earnestness of the students. He came to the interesting conclusion that the cultural value of a technical education which aims simply at turning out efficient workers is actually greater than that of one which keeps in view also the cultural aim of enabling the students to use their leisure enjoyably and profitably.

NATURALLY, seeing that both modern industry and industrial education have, up to the initiation of the five years' plan, been so little developed in Russia, he found educational results of a given expenditure as yet much lower than in England; but he does not attribute this inferiority to mistakes in the plan of organisation. On the other hand he regards the decision of instituting monotekhnics, for the study of the sciences relating to a single industry, instead, as with us, of polytechnics, in which those relating to several industries are studied, as the right one in the circumstances.

THE book is illustrated by some interesting photographs, which convey a rather repellent idea of the probable ultimate character of the sort of life which the Soviet is preparing for future Russian generations; they point disconcertingly towards an ultimate goal too similar to Mr. Aldous Huxley's **BRAVE NEW WORLD**. G. S.

ACTES DU CONGRÈS PENAL ET PÉNITENTIAIRE INTERNATIONAL DE PRAGUE: in six parts, published for the Bureau de la Commission Internationale Pénale et Pénitentiaire by Staempfli & Cie., Berne, 1930, is the official report of the 1930 Congress, and includes programme, papers and discussions.

THE GROWTH OF AN INSTITUTION: THE CHICAGO REAL ESTATE BOARD: by E. C. Hughes. Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, 1930. (\$1.50.)

THIS mimeographed quarto volume studies the history of the Board from its foundation in 1883 down to 1928. The study is sociological in aim and intention: a narrative of the Board's development is given, but throughout the author is chiefly interested in the typical features revealed by his subject. The central question that he asks—How did a group of keen competitors come to work out an extensive and detailed scheme of competitive effort? might be asked also of other business institutions, and his answer may therefore contain something of general value. The investigation seems to have been well done, the facts are presented in clear and orderly fashion, and there are full references to authorities.

TYNESIDE PAPERS (Second Series): No. 3 THE FINANCE OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY EDUCATION: by E. Dyer, B.A. (Tyneside Council of Social Service, 1931; 4d.) is a valuable study of the cost of Elementary Education, and of the causes which make that a specially heavy burden in the Tyneside area.

THIS UNEMPLOYMENT: DISASTER OR OPPORTUNITY: by V. A. Demant. Student Christian Movement Press. (1931. Cloth 4s. : paper 2s. 6d.)

INTRODUCED by the Bishop of Winchester and backed by the Research Committee of the Christian Social Council, this modest and temperate book has already made its influence felt in religious circles. It deserves the widest attention among thoughtful people, because it attempts something that is rarely thought about or discussed—the placing of an urgent problem in its relation to social life as a whole, and to a religion which is envisaged as intimately bound up with social life.

OF the seven chapters three describe the existing unemployment situation. These are written simply and cogently: the situation in Great Britain naturally occupies the centre of the picture, but the world problem is also kept in view. There are references to the most useful books and papers: and the more important statistics are included. Three further chapters restate the problem, summarise the current types of diagnosis, and deal with the ultimate social issues. These are perhaps the most useful part of the book: the criticisms of current theories are admirably done, and the exposure of the inconsistency and short-sightedness of some current explanations is very valuable. So far as the author allows his own views to show, he proclaims himself a follower of Major Douglas, and hopes for remedies in the directions indicated by his leader.

A FIRST chapter deals with religion and economics: it argues ably against the divorce of these that is now so widely—if unconsciously—accepted: and shows the impossibility of recognising that division when real problems are in question.

A GEOGRAPHY OF CEYLON: by Elsie K. M. Cook. Macmillan, 1931. (6s.)

"LANKA the Resplendent"—as her sons and daughters patriotically call her—is a beautiful island-gem of the Southern Seas, on one of the great highways of the world. Many travellers and others have sung her praises, and she has inspired a large literature of description and appreciation. The present practical volume, however, is a pioneer work, in that it has been based on those relative and human principles which have wrought the veritable revolution in geographical science that we have seen taking place within our own times. The author is a trained geographer and a keen observer, and in the course of a years' engagement, primarily to visit, in an advisory capacity, the Buddhist English Schools and Buddhist training Schools for teachers, she travelled over the island, and, with the generous assistance of scholars and officials, she collected much of her material at first hand. Much labour and learning and care have evidently been put into the making of this attractive work. Its five parts are—Historical, Physical, Economic, and Human Geography, and Summary: and it has much vivid and interesting sociological comment, *e.g.*, a frank and judicious weighing of the pro and contra of Christianity as a religion for Ceylon. There are also many maps and diagrams and photographs of scenes and buildings and people. Although meant as a handbook for teachers and scholars in the Secondary Schools in Ceylon, it is valuable also for the sociological student and the general reader. It is to be translated into Sinhalese.

W. F. W.

PRIMITIVE MAN: by Caesar de Vesme. Rider, 1931. (10s. 6d.)

THIS is Vol. I. of a HISTORY OF EXPERIMENTAL SPIRITUALISM: it is translated by Mr. Stanley de Brath, and the author has added an introductory note to the English Edition. The translation is good in its style, orderliness and clarity: the work is a good example of the French way of doing things. It aims at being popular as well as scientific, taking as model Andrew Lang's work. That it would not be received without question by anthropologists was a foregone conclusion.

ITS thesis, to make a brief summary of it, is that there is no reason to think that the belief in spiritual beings, and in the existence and survival of the soul, originates in the erroneous interpretation of such natural phenomena as ordinary dreams or syncope. An explanation that ascribes these phenomena to truly spiritual causes fits the facts as well or better. The matter which many anthropologists thought that they had decided is still *sub judice*.

FURTHER, the experience of history shows the falsity of the idea that man begins by explaining everything by spirits and reaches a naturalistic belief in proportion as he becomes civilised and progressive. Religions fall, not to disappear, but to become transformed into something higher.

THIS central thesis is illustrated by many examples culled from the literature of anthropology; by the aid of these, the author has little difficulty in showing how the purely materialistic explanation of primitive beliefs breaks down at critical points. Yet it is perhaps in its citation of these varied examples that the book is most open to objection; for we have surely reached the stage when advance in knowledge of human life depends upon the fuller study of well selected units, and not at all on the time-honoured method of harvesting examples—often without complete knowledge of their context—from varied sources?

THE LIFE OF ZAMENHOF: by Edmond Privat. Allen & Unwin, 1931. (4s. 6d.)

THIS life of the inventor of Esperanto was first published in that language in 1920 and is here translated into English by Ralph Elliott. It is a transparently simple, artless narrative, giving adequately the main events in Zamenhof's career but not attempting any serious psychological or sociological interpretation. It is not without drama and leaves in the mind a vivid impression of a life devoted wholeheartedly and almost from birth to death to an ideal and to a single clearly seen, simple and narrow way of approach to it.

THAT Zamenhof was from first to last a humanist, in the sense of a person who shares and understands the simple impulses and ideas of the "common men" of to-day in all civilised countries, and that he looked upon his universal language as a means of bringing about a full understanding among such men everywhere, are the chief conclusions that emerge.

SOCIOLOGICALLY the book offers, though it does not pursue, some interesting suggestions. Zamenhof was born in Lithuania and brought up in Poland where he could not escape experience of national and racial conflict. He was a Jew: for how many international movements have Jews been responsible? He was a doctor by profession and attempted the healing of the nations: more, he was an oculist, and tried to give vision to the blind peoples. He had no support—at first—from the wealthy and powerful: his movement spread among "ordinary" people. He was in fact a prophet who saw clearly a universal need and gave his life to supplying it.

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THE SHETLAND ISLANDS: by A. C. O'Dell, B.Sc., F.R.G.S.

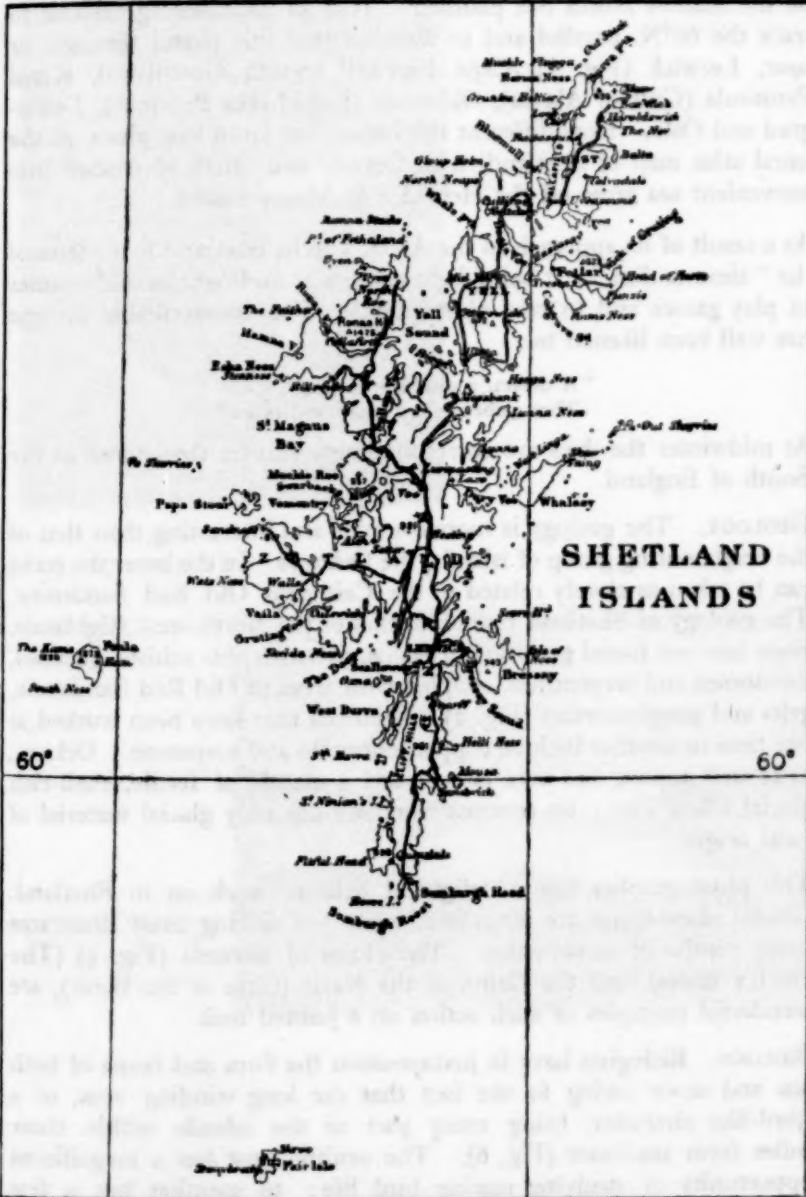


FIGURE 1. General Map : Scale 1/1,000,000.
 Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map of Great Britain and Ireland on the same scale with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Note that Foula and Fair Isle are included in the County of Zetland.

THIS archipelago (now officially known as Zetland) which extends seventy-one miles north to south, is the most northerly outpost of the British Empire in the old world, since it is the farthest north land area on the shallow North Sea platform. It is an illuminating exercise to trace the 60°N. parallel and to discover that this passes through, or near, Lerwick (Fig. 1), Cape Farewell (South Greenland), Kenai Peninsula (Gulf of Alaska), Okhotsk (Kamchatka Province), Leningrad and Oslo. How different the impression from that given on the usual atlas map of Scotland, with Orkney and Shetland pushed into convenient sea areas off the Hebrides or Moray coast!

As a result of its approach to the Arctic Circle, Shetland is the land of the "simmer dim"; it being light enough at midnight in midsummer to play games and to take photographs. This indescribable twilight has well been likened to:

"A dream, a deathless memory,
That gathers glory more and more."

At midwinter the days are correspondingly shorter than those of the South of England.

GEOLOGY. The geology is more complex and interesting than that of the neighbouring group of islands, the Orkneys. In the latter the rocks can be taken as closely related to the Caithness Old Red Sandstone. The geology of Shetland resembles that of the North-west Highlands, since here are found granitic intrusions, metamorphic schists, gneisses, limestones and serpentines, coupled with areas of Old Red Sandstone, grits and conglomerates (Fig. 2). Minerals that have been worked at one time or another include copper, chromite and soapstone. Orkney, as is well known, has over large tracts a mantle of fertile, shell-rich glacial till or clay; by contrast Shetland has only glacial material of local origin.

THE physiographer has a delightful field to work on in Shetland. Glacial phenomena are abundant, while the sinking coast illustrates many results of wave action. The Holes of Skraada (Fig. 5) (The Devil's Holes), and the Grind of the Navir (Gate of the Borer), are wonderful examples of such action on a jointed rock.

BIOLOGY. Biologists have in juxtaposition the flora and fauna of both sea and moor owing to the fact that the long winding voes, of a fjord-like character, bring every part of the islands within three miles from sea-water (Fig. 6). The ornithologist has a magnificent opportunity of studying marine bird life: to mention but a few examples, the Great Skua, Richardson's Skua, Arctic Tern, Eider Duck, many representatives of the gull family, puffins and oystercatchers. A night on a herring-drifter (of which about five hundred fish from Lerwick each summer) and observation from land will

THE SHETLAND ISLANDS



Figure 5. THE HOLES OF SCRAADA. This is a cave the roof of which has collapsed in part. The white band is a breaking wave.



Figure 6. OLNA FIRTH. Note the winding voe, the land-locked waters, and the scattered crofts.



Figure 7. OLNA FIRTH WHALING STATION. Note the land-locked anchorage and the unfenced main road.



Figure 8. BULLOCK drawing cart of peats in Eshaness. This is one of the two remaining draught oxen in Shetland.

THE SHETLAND ISLANDS



Figure 9. "DELL-
ING" OR TEAM
DIGGING AT WHAL-
SAY. This practice
is nearly extinct as
ploughing needs
less labour.



Figure 10. A CROF-
TER'S WIFE CARDING
WOOL. Note the
fishing lines on the
wall behind.



Figure 11. FLADDABISTER. A picturesque settlement: note thatched roofs. One building is roofed with the tarred felt now becoming common.



Figure 12. OLD MILL on Fetlar, now disused, worked by water turning rotating vanes below millstones.

THE SHETLAND ISLANDS

give a glimpse of seals, porpoises and the "blower-whale" chasing the herring. As regards marine mollusca Shetland lies in the Boreal Province, while the rest of Britain is in the Celtic Province.

HISTORY. Before considering the recent social changes in the islands it is essential to obtain a brief insight into their history. The



FIGURE 2. Geology: Scale about 1/750,000.

Based upon Peach and Horne, Finlay, etc. (see Bibliography). Large areas, especially on the metamorphic rocks, are covered with peat. Limestone bands coincide with valleys, being easily eroded.

islands were originally inhabited by a Pictish race, as is revealed by stone implements and the many remains of the brochs or Pictish forts. Of the latter, Shetland has two in a unique state of preservation and both readily accessible to the archæologist. The earlier settlers were overwhelmed in the eighth century by the penetration of Norwegian peasants, who were driven westward—presumably by hunger. About 872 A.D., Harald the Fair-haired, attempted to dominate his chieftains with the result that this island group came under his surveillance. Till the philological work of *Jakobsen*, at the end of the last century, it was believed that this political domination was the first movement of Norwegians westward, the earlier peasant migration being entirely unsuspected. A study of the place names has revealed that the bulk of the immigrants into Shetland came from the Møre, Agder and Rogaland districts of Norway.

FOR centuries the Shetlands remained under Dano-Norwegian rule: local *things* were held (*e.g.*, Aithsting, Sandsting and Delting, all present parish names), while representatives from the whole archipelago were accustomed to attend the *Althing*, which was held on a loch island in the Tingwall valley. At the south end of Tingwall lies the old county town whose very name, Scalloway ("voe of temporary booths") shows the enlargement of the settlement during the meeting of the *Althing*.

IN 1468 the islands, together with Orkney, were pledged to the Crown of Scotland as security for the payment of the dowry on the occasion of the marriage of Margaret of Denmark to James the Third of Scotland. The payment not being made, the islands passed into Scottish hands, with the stipulation that Norwegian methods of land-tenure and law-giving should continue. The Scottish Parliament broke its bond, and first in Orkney, the nearer to Scotland and more readily accessible, and later in Shetland the udal system of peasant proprietors was ruthlessly converted into the feudal system, with landlords. This was largely the work of the Earl Patrick Stewart, who has left as a memento of his oppression, the now picturesque Castle of Scalloway which was built by forced labour.

IN the course of the seventeenth century the Dutch frequented Shetland and chose Bressay Sound as a *rendezvous* to commence the herring fishing each June. Lerwick, whose site had previously been a derelict waste, now rapidly came to the fore. Dutch coins were here exchanged for hosiery, in the making of which the islanders had discovered a new resource to help them to wring a living out of the sterile islands. Before this, selling dry salted ling and cod to the Hamburgers and Brementers had been their only trade. Living was precarious in those days: the failure of the oats and bere (barley) led to terrible famines, as for example, in 1632. Cabbage was not introduced till about 1650 and potatoes till 1750. The cultivation of the

former brought into the islands by Cromwellian soldiers, was particularly valuable in that it reduced the tendency to "elephantiasis" or so-called leprosy among the islanders.

IN 1712 a tax on foreign salt, together with a debenture on British salt fish, induced the landlords to aid their tenants to increase the ling catch, and as a result the Dutch and other traders lost their grip on the salt fish trade of Scotland. The "landmasters," to use the old Shetland term for landlords, subdivided the crofts and encouraged the men to marry young in order to increase the number of fishermen on their estates; at the same time the tenant, in return for low rent and advance of meal in bad seasons, was compelled to deliver up his fish at a low price to the landmaster. The islanders suffered by a great increase of population, despite small-pox devastations, bad harvests, and heavy loss of life at the fishing, which kept the increase below what might have been expected. About 1778 occurred a series of very bad crops and fishings with the result that the activities of Nova Scotian agents threatened to depopulate the islands by emigration.

FROM 1733 onwards the tenant obtained an addition to his livelihood by going, when a young man, on whaling voyages to Greenland and the Davis Straits. For one-and-a-half centuries whaling vessels sailed from such East Coast ports as London and Dundee, and called at Lerwick to complete the crew. To discourage this the landlord imposed on families a fine of a guinea for each son allowed to go on these voyages. Kelp burning was an important source of revenue to the landlords for a period starting about 1780. During the Napoleonic War Shetlanders were in great demand as seamen and the terror of the press-gang hung heavy over the islands.

In the thirties of the last century steam communication was established with Aberdeen and Leith, replacing the erratic and infrequent Peterhead packet boats. From 1850 onwards roads were rapidly constructed in the islands and the use of boats for transport suffered as rapid a decline. The first roads were made under military supervision and, being intended as a famine relief measure, were known as the "meal-roads." The work of the Crofters Commission of 1882 led to fixity of tenure and low rents; this may be taken as a turning point in the economy of the islands. Another landmark in the social history was the gale of 1881 that destroyed the "haaf" fleet. The haaf-fishing was the taking of ling and cod by long lines from small, open, six-oared boats of eighteen to twenty-two feet keel. These buoyant little vessels went out till the land was sunk below the horizon, a matter of forty miles in the case of Ronas Hill, Shetland's highest hill, 1,475 feet. Arrived at the "bank" it took two hours to set the line, two hours to wait while the fish were hooked, and three to four hours to haul in the lines. Only two trips a week could be made and

during the week the fishermen lived on oatmeal and "bland" (butter-milk). After the disastrous gale of 1881 the fishing was prosecuted first by half-decked boats and later by the Aberdeen steam trawlers.

FROM time immemorial the "ca'in whale" had been pursued if it ventured within the voes; the oil so obtained was used for lamps. About 1905 a new type of whaling was undertaken by Norwegians and Danes using Shetland shores; small fast steamers equipped with the Svend Foyn harpoon-gun caught the whales and towed them to the shore stations at Ronas Voe, Colla Firth and Olna Firth. The last-named (Fig. 7) was that mostly recently worked; it ceased to operate after 1928.

DURING the Great War Shetland was an important link in the convoy system elaborated to outwit the submarine. As in the Napoleonic War, Shetland waters became more important owing to enemy attacks on shipping in the English Channel.

THE CROFTER'S LIFE. A diagram (Fig. 3) illustrates in a convenient form the old tag, "the Shetlander is a fisherman with a croft," especially the upper section which can be taken as epitomising life a hundred years ago. The "voar" is the spring work, "hairst" the harvest, and "peats" the cutting (first peak in curve), curing and carrying home (second peak). The normal methods of carrying the peat are a load in a "kishie" on the back (the bearer knitting as she goes), a string of ponies, or a cart drawn by a pony, or, very rarely, a bullock as in Fig. 8. If roads are very bad, with a steep gradient, a trolley suspended from a wire is used; if roads are good, in recent years a light lorry is called into service. Formerly the fields were "delled" (spade dug) by hand (Fig. 9) but now the plough is nearly ubiquitous.

A TYPICAL croft on poorer soil is shown in Fig. 4 and only a few notes are required about the terms used. The group of crofts constitutes a "township" which is separated from the scattald, or common hill-pasture, by a turf or stone dyke (Hill Dyke). Surrounding each croft is the arable land that belongs to it, which may, though to a decreasing extent, "runrig" with the other holders in the township. The original method of runrig meant that strips were periodically changed with the other holders and this, by discouraging soil improvement, was inimical to progress. The only area that is manured is the enclosed "infield" next the croft as this patch has to bear the exhaustive croppings year after year of the croft's cabbage and potatoes. The "outfield" is cropped to exhaustion and then left fallow to recover. After the crops are in, the "okrigard is slippit," that is, the hill gates are opened and the animals can wander at will over the outfield. Until this time they are either loose on the scattald or tethered within the hill dyke. It is thus impossible for any root crops to be left in the ground after the gates are opened. This is a further obstacle to the improvement of the agriculture.

THE mainstay of the crofters' budget is the hosiery trade, which is carried on as a pure cottage industry by the women-folk at all available periods. Formerly the wool of the Shetland sheep, which was of unique fineness, was spun in the crofts during the long winter evenings, but now a coarser wool from the modern crossed breeds is sent to Brora in Sutherland and spun there, since the crofters can rarely obtain adequate recompense for the long time the home spinning takes. Figure 10 is a view of this dying handicraft taken outside a croft.

IN the past the crofts were similar to those in Fig. 11 with the exception that there were no chimneys, the smoke from the central peat fire escaping by crevices. Now crofts are built of cement and have tarred-felt roofs, while peat stoves keep the interiors free from peat reek.

ROADMAKING in summer or following the herring fleet and the mercantile marine have replaced the haaf as a means of paying the rent

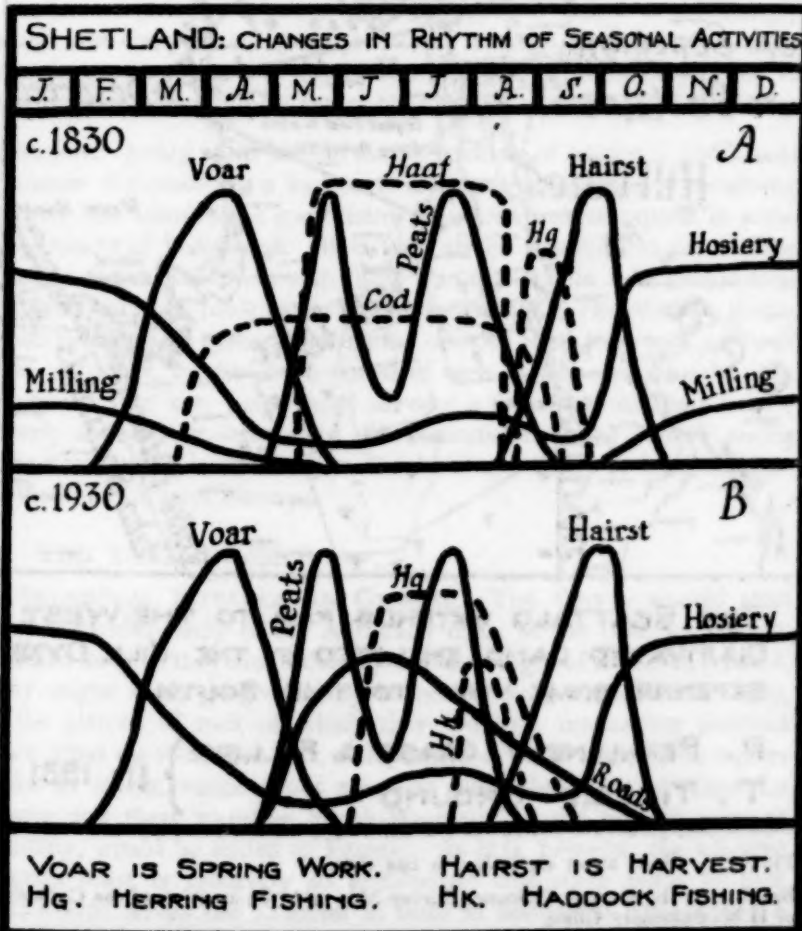


FIGURE 3. The Crofter's Year.

and buying goods. Buying has greatly increased, bought flour and tinned goods have caused mills to fall into disuse (Fig. 12), and less clothes and footwear are being manufactured at home. As an outward symbol of changing times the pure Norwegian dialect is becoming "contaminated" at an ever-increasing rate by Scottish and English idiom. Mechanical transport and the wireless are bringing the crofters closer to one another and the outside world, and are playing their part in disintegrating the self-contained community that had survived the test of centuries.



FIGURE 4. Scale about six inches to one mile.

Based upon the six-inch Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

The Mill is now a total ruin.

JERSEY: SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS A CIVIC AND REGIONAL SURVEY: by R. R. Marett, D.Sc., F.B.A.

SCOPE. The object of a Regional Survey must be to treat a given *habitat* strictly in its human reference; in other words, environment must be studied simply as the theatre of the folk and its work. The Civic Survey will treat in more detail those areas in the Region where population has become denser and the institutions usual in city life have developed.

JERSEY offers a singular opportunity of dealing with a people of peculiar type and institutions in relation to a very well defined geographical situation. In short, it is a perfect example of a social unit; since even the other islands of the Norman Archipelago have had somewhat independent histories, though being variations of the same fundamental pattern. Another advantage of Jersey is that, as a social unit, it is exceedingly small and compact compared with the average modern community showing any approach to autonomy. Indeed it might be likened to the city-state of antiquity rather than to the typical nation of to-day.

METHOD. Jersey is in the fortunate position of having a good local museum organised by a historical and antiquarian society consisting of over 600 members, a good many of whom rank as experts in some department of knowledge. It is thus always possible for the visiting student to get into touch with those who can explain how information is to be obtained most easily and authentically. The student thereupon by using his eyes can verify and develop what he is told, and can also, no doubt, suggest fresh points of view to those on the spot. In particular, he can help them to take a functional as apart from a purely antiquarian interest in the institutions of the Island, seeing how necessary it is that reform should always strive to keep in sympathetic touch with history.

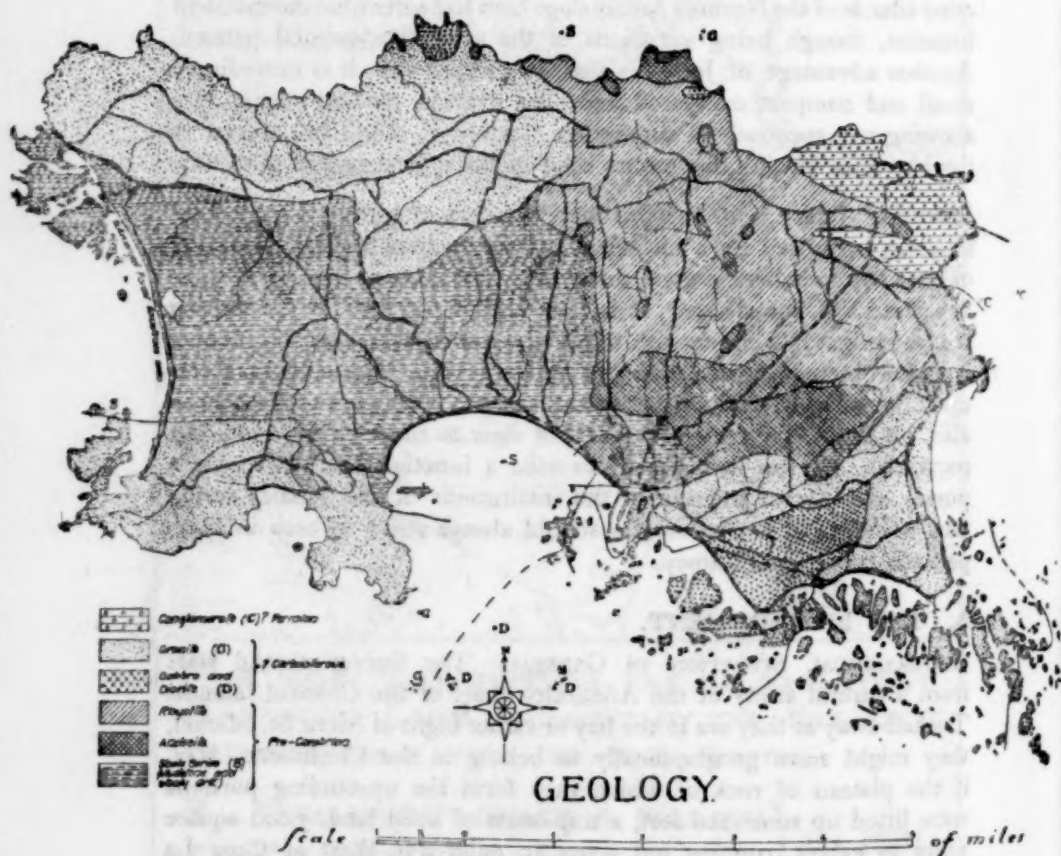
A. THE ENVIRONMENT.

GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION IN GENERAL. The Survey should start from a careful study of the Admiralty chart of the Channel Islands. Tucked away as they are in the bay or rather bight of Mont St. Michel, they might seem geographically to belong to the Continent. Nay, if the plateau of rock of which they form the upstanding portions were lifted up some 200 feet, a trapezium of solid land, 3,000 square miles in extent, running out some 25 miles due West of Cape La Hague and there trending South-Westward to the present coast of Brittany, would be added to France. As it is, however, the adjacent French coast is relatively so harbourless that trade tends to look northwards across the Channel as soon as navigation has reached a certain stage of development; while for small boats there is danger

everywhere in the rock-bound narrow waters, a fact which a study of the remarkable tides will amply confirm.

GEOLOGY. The ultimate framework of Jersey is very old, having been virtually fixed by Carboniferous times, though erosion, aerial and marine, has ever since been at work, planing down a great mountain system, the Armorican arc, so that only these scanty fragments of its very foundations are left. For the pure geologist the constituent rocks, igneous, volcanic and sedimentary, are very interesting. They ought to be studied *in situ*, when the remarkable geotectonics exhibited in

JERSEY

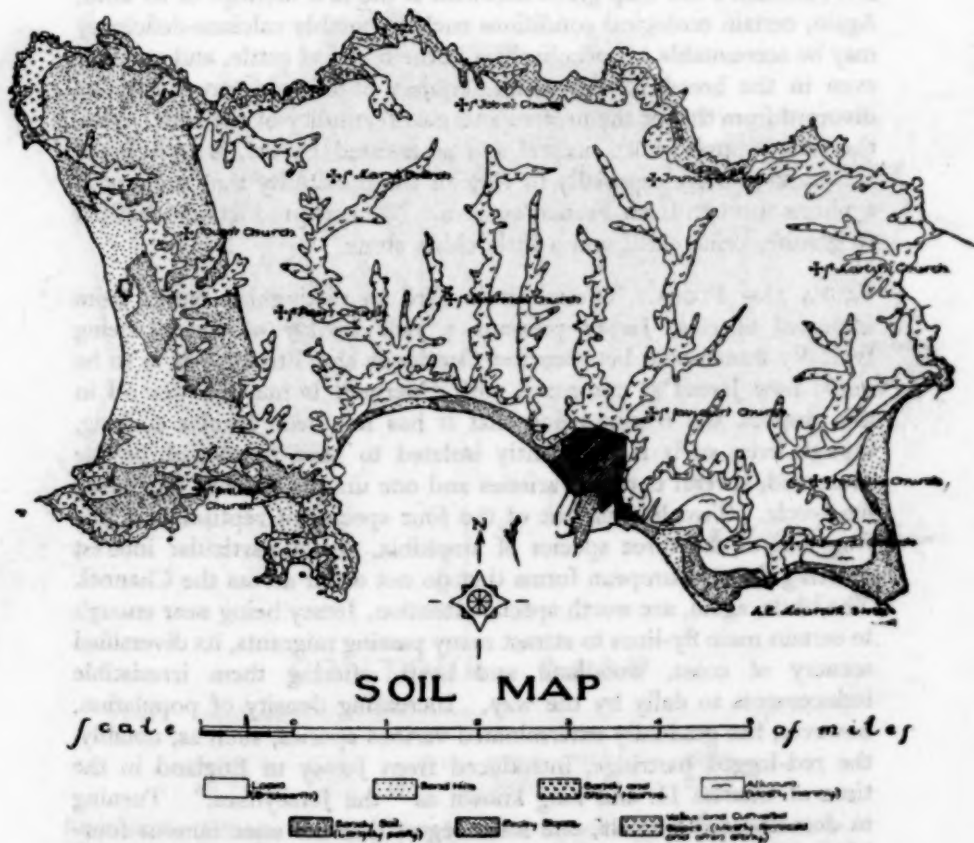


BASED on the maps of Ch. Noury and G. H. Plymen with corrections by A. E. Mourant. The superficial deposits—brickearth, alluvium and blown sand ("sand hills" and "sandy soil")—are shown on the Soil Map and are omitted here for the sake of simplicity. There are many small but conspicuous intrusions of granite porphyry, not indicated here, in the south-east of Jersey. The rock shown here as a tongue extending southward from the eastern part of the rhyolite may be such an intrusion.

the trend lines can be observed in detail, especially along the coast. For the Secondary and Tertiary periods everything is missing, though traces of Cretaceous formations have been dredged from the adjacent sea bottom, and flint, limestone and sandstone pebbles abound in the beaches. Thus we jump from unfossiliferous conditions to the Glacial epoch—in a word, to the human period.

At this point geology must go hand in hand with archaeology, since Jersey was once a lair of Neanderthal man. There is a rather unique opportunity of analysing at the Museum a large and thoroughly typical collection of finds from two Mousterian caves. To supply the necessary environment for this study the student must pay attention to the contemporary Pleistocene conditions as exemplified by the loess,

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THIS map is based on a partial geological survey of the superficial deposits and is the only published map showing the "drift geology." Certain parts, however, especially in the west, form only a rough approximation to the truth.

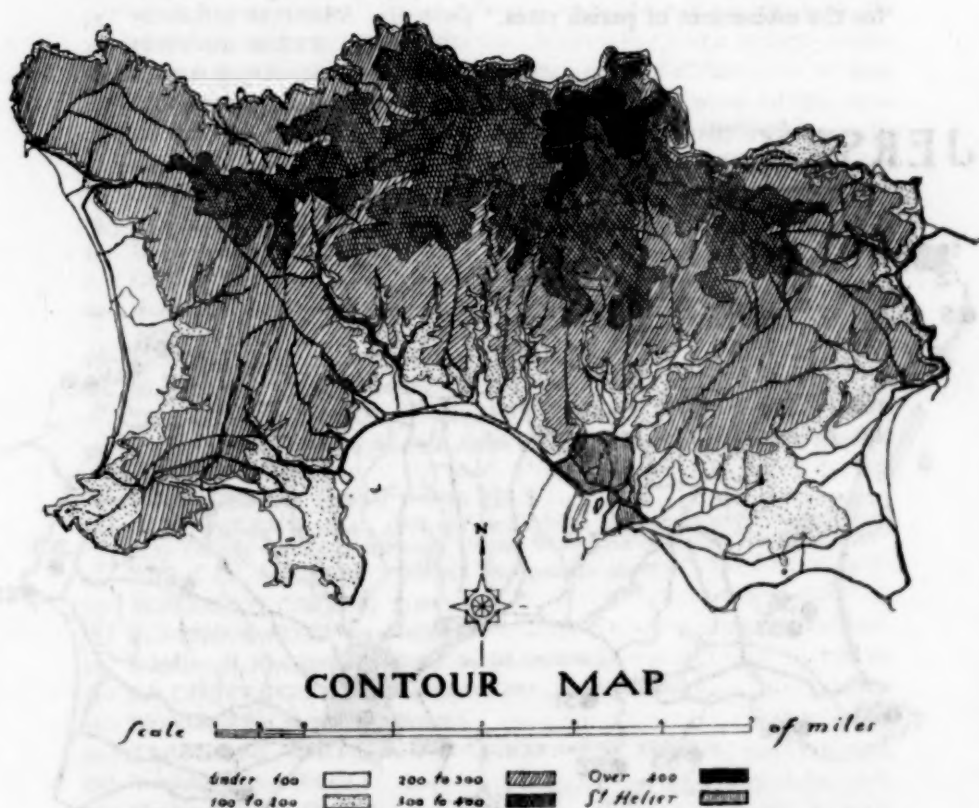
or brick-earth, the "head" of rock-rubbish along the cliffs, and more especially by the series of raised beaches. These prove Jersey to have been alternately insular and continental—the latter during its only two important prehistoric phases, the Mousterian and the Megalithic. For not only must Neanderthal man have been a visitor during an immense span of time since there is evidence of an earlier and a later occupation; but the Dolmen-builders, whoever they were, dwelt here long enough to set up over fifty of their characteristic structures, including what is perhaps the finest existing monument in Western Europe, namely, La Hougue Bie.

SOIL AND CLIMATE. Even more important from the standpoint of the Survey, will it be to study the geological constituents of the soil, since otherwise it will be impossible to realise the agricultural problems which a race of peasant proprietors have grappled with and overcome. Dr. Mourant's soil map given herewith is the first attempt of its kind. Again, certain ecological conditions such as notably calcium-deficiency may be accountable for peculiarities in the breed of cattle, and possibly even in the breed of men. The subject of climate can hardly be divorced from that of the present and past fecundity of the soil. Also, the water supply, both natural and as assisted by art, is well worth considering, more especially in view of the possibility that some of it syphons through from French sources. Mineral products are limited to granite, brick earth and a little china stone.

FAUNA AND FLORA. Though it is hard to distinguish native from imported species, Jersey presents a rich variety of forms, being typically transitional between the Continent and Britain. It is to be noted how Jersey as compared with Guernsey is much better off in this respect, the reason being that it has not been insular so long, though even so it is sufficiently isolated to have developed, or else preserved, several curious varieties and one unique species, the Jersey bank-vole. Two lizards, out of the four species of reptiles, and one frog, out of the three species of amphibia, are of particular interest as being South-European forms that do not occur across the Channel. The birds, again, are worth special attention, Jersey being near enough to certain main fly-lines to attract many passing migrants, its diversified scenery of coast, woodland and heath offering them irresistible inducements to dally by the way. Increasing density of population, however, has gradually exterminated various species, such as, notably, the red-legged partridge, introduced from Jersey to England in the time of Charles II. and long known as "the Jerseyman." Turning to domesticated animals, one must regret that the once famous four-horned sheep of the Island have long been extinct. As for the cattle, the 10,000 forming the average stock of the Island have provided the 10,000,000 of the U.S.A., not to speak of the numerous herds in

Britain and the colonies ; and yet it would seem that all the exported animals deteriorate in type value unless constantly recruited from the parent source. In view of the drain of the export trade, it is indeed a wonder how the local stock is kept up to the mark. Again, the Island has proved in the past its possibilities as a school of marine biology, and some British institution with the necessary funds should take up the task anew. As a breeding ground for numberless kinds of fish and also as a spot where rare visitants from the Atlantic may be encountered, the Island will always hold its own ; but, for reasons that call for further analysis, the fishing industry, so famous in the Middle Ages and fairly remunerative half-a-century ago, when oysters were still plentiful, has shrunk almost to nothing.

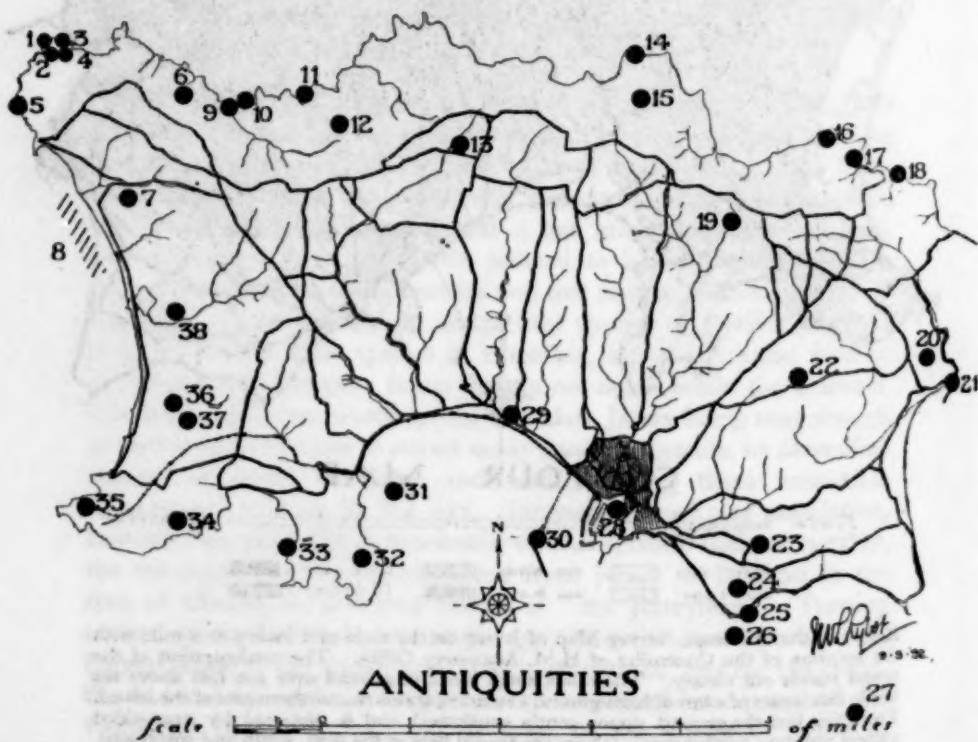
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BASED on the Ordnance Survey Map of Jersey on the scale of 2 inches to 1 mile with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. The configuration of the island stands out clearly. There is a small block of ground over 400 feet above sea level : this is part of a line of high ground extending across the northern part of the island. From this line the ground slopes gently southward, and is dissected by steep-sided valleys pointing southwards. There are coastal flats in the west, south and south-east.

TURNING to Flora the student will find specimens in plenty whether inland or between tides. He should expressly note the sea-weed or "vraic," which, when harvested and spread on the land, proves a philosopher's stone that can turn mere clay or sand into gold. The timber is too much at the mercy of the boisterous winds to do well except in sheltered spots, but the verdure of the winding valleys must be seen to be believed. As for domesticated plants, it may be noted that cider apples and parsnips were largely cultivated in the 18th century; that wheat, which had been the chief crop from the time of the earliest records, though little is grown to-day, paid exceedingly well in the first half of the 19th; and that latterly the potato, followed after an interval by the tomato, has furnished the staple crop. Fodder for the cattle is grown as well, and, thanks to ample manuring, the fertility of the land is never overtaxed. It is to be noted that wheat remains the nominal basis both for the payment of ground-rents and for the assessment of parish rates.

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INDEX MAP OF ANTIQUITIES, prepared by Major N. V. L. Rybot, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., Société Jersiaise. References to all the places named will be found in the publications of the Société. Objects found in the prehistoric sites are in the Museum of the Société.

1. GROSNEZ CASTLE: Early XIVth Century Castle of Refuge (Ruins).
2. Remains of small barrow or hougue.
3. COTTE A LA CHEVRE. (Palæolithic Cave.)
4. GROSNEZ HOUGUE. (Remains of barrow.)
5. LE PINACLE. (Bronze Age site now being excavated.)
6. Dolmen des GEONNAIS. (Ruins buried.)
7. LES MONTS GRANTEZ Dolmen.
8. Submerged forest. The stumps and peat exposed sometimes after heavy tides. Neolithic pottery and flints, etc. Bos longifrons.
9. GREVE DE LECQ.
10. Ringed fort not yet examined.
11. ILE AGOIS. (Early historic Pit Dwellings.)
12. HOUGUE MAUGER. (Barrow.)
13. HOUGUE BOETE. (Barrow.)
14. BELLE HOUGUE Cave. (Pleistocene ?)
15. LES PLATONS. (Small barrow. Kist burial.)
16. LE CATEL. (Great earthwork c. 300 ? A.D. Not yet examined.)
17. Site where hoards of Armorican coins were found.
18. LE COUPERON. (Passage grave—"allée couverte.")
19. LES CATEAUX. (Early historic earthwork.)
20. Dolmen de FALDOUET.
21. GOREY CASTLE (Mont Orgueil). 1200-1800.
22. HOUGUE BIE. (Neolithic tomb in perfect condition. Mound 40 ft. high crowned by 2 chapels.)
23. MONT UBE Dolmen. (Capstones gone.)
24. BLANCHE PIERRE (Menhir.)
25. THE WITCHES ROCK. (Folklorists may see the Devil's hoofmarks in it.)
26. LA MOTTE or Green Island. (Kist burials. The top is a kitchen midden. Late Neolithic.)
27. ICHO TOWER. (Late Neolithic Site.)
28. FORT REGENT, 1810. (Site of fine Neolithic Monument which was removed to Temple Combe, Henley-on-Thames at the end of the XVIIIth century.)
29. VILLE ES NOUAUX. (Dolmen and passage grave.)
30. ELIZABETH CASTLE, 1540-1901.
31. S. AUBIN'S FORT, 1550-1750.
32. Remains of Hougue. (Neolithic burial mound.)
33. LA COTTE POINT. (Palæolithic Cave. Mousterian.)
34. BEAUPORT Cromlech. (Ruins.)
35. TABLE DES MARTHES. (In Corbière railway station.)
36. Neolithic Camp Site.
37. Menhirs (3) and Ossuary.
38. LES TROIS ROCHES (Menhirs).

B. THE FOLK.

ETHNOLOGY. The ancestry of the present population needs further study, and anthropometrical data are scarce and call for additional work. Neanderthal man can be ruled out as an ancestor, and it is uncertain whether the Dolmen-builders survived into the present insular phase, though the Mediterranean type of skull is of sporadic occurrence. Remarkable finds of coins, Gallic and late Roman, prove that considerable trade passed through the Island, though perhaps hardly that it emanated from it. The doubtful legends dealing with the Christianisation of Jersey imply a sparse population. On the other hand, the present organisation of parishes, which probably go back to the 10th century would imply larger numbers, but whether indigenous Neustrian and Armorican Gauls—a very mixed lot—or intrusive Northerners, it is hard to say. By the 13th century there is evidence of a fairly large body of inhabitants, perhaps as many as 15,000. Though the wars with France, from 1204 onwards, cut off immigration from that quarter and likewise carried off many islanders prematurely, the limit of population must have kept near the bread-line; for in the 17th century wool had to be copiously exported from England to enable men and women alike to keep alive by knitting. Hence, by the way, the woollen sweater is still known as a "Jersey," while it may also be mentioned that Mary, Queen of Scots, wore stockings of Jersey knitting. The Island, while more prosperous to-day, remains one of the most thickly populated parts of Europe, though Malta decidedly outclasses it in this respect. Now, seeing that the population, apart from foreign elements that can easily be separated out, is, or at least until recent times has been, intensely inbred, a distinctive sub-type of humanity ought to have been evolved, and this in fact has happened. Even so it is not easy to recognise the racial sources that have contributed to this experiment in race-making, and one can but say, tentatively, that the Nordic element, as especially marked by blue eyes, predominates, so that the affinities are with the Cotentin, rather than with Brittany; though there are subordinate strains in the population showing the brachycephaly of the Alpine as well as the dolicocephaly of the Mediterranean. To proceed to argue from head-form to ethnic psychology may be dangerous, but it is only fair to add that the sturdy self-sufficing character, the gift for affairs, the frugality, the puritanism, the love of the sea are suggestive of the Teuton rather than of the Celt. At any rate, the Islanders are true Normans in the sense that they are proud to think themselves so. In connection with the physical anthropology, the student should likewise study birth-rate, health returns, nutrition—a rather weak point with the country folk—the tendency to in-breed, and so on.

LANGUAGE. The modern patois still extensively used in the rural parts, has given rise to no true folk-literature, though early in Victorian times, both in Jersey and Guernsey, some graceful verse was written by men of culture ; no standard of orthography being, however, evolved in the process. With the help of this modern poetry it is possible to institute a comparison with the national epic of the Normans, the *Roman de Rou* of Wace, who was himself a Jerseyman, though he was educated at Caen and doubtless wrote in the current language of Normandy rather than in his native dialect. The survival of old forms in Jersey French is remarkable, and a competent philologist has here a chance of reaping a rich harvest in a much-neglected field. It may be added that a careful study, with due regard for phonetics, would detect differences of speech within the island, such as may have some remote ethnological significance. An analysis of the place-names is also of interest, showing as it does many Scandinavian forms—such as also occur frequently among the names of families ; whereas the Celtic names seem to be almost non-existent, though the last word has not yet been said on the subject.

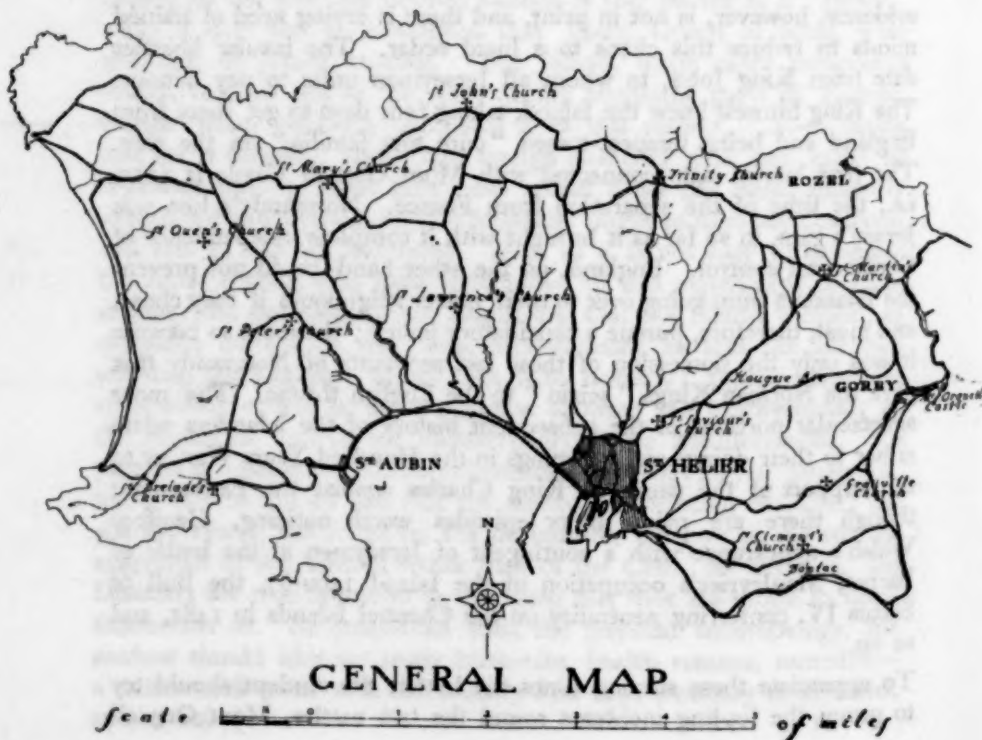
HISTORY. For the history of the Island there exists a mass of documentary evidence from a charter of *circa* 1025 onwards. Thus there are extant deeds of gift as early as 1130 executed by the same de Carteret family which is to-day at the head of affairs in Jersey. Much of this evidence, however, is not in print, and there is crying need of trained minds to reduce this chaos to a lucid order. The insular liberties date from King John, to whom all Jerseymen unite to pay honour. The King himself knew the Island, taking four days to get there from England and being tempest-tossed "*cum tota familia*" on the way. The first known date connected with Mont Orgueil Castle is 1212, *i.e.*, the time of the separation from France. Normandy's loss was Jersey's gain, in so far as it brought with it complete independence of Continental control. England, on the other hand, could not prevent the Islanders from going over to their nearer neighbours if they chose, and must, therefore, pursue a conciliatory policy ; the more so because it was only the possession of these last remnants of Normandy that gave the Norman Kings "*seizin*" to the English throne. The more spectacular portions of the subsequent history of the Islanders relate either to their doings and sufferings in the Hundred Years War, or to the support of the cause of King Charles against the Parliament ; though there are many minor episodes worth noticing, Geoffrey Walsh's appearance with a contingent of Jerseymen at the battle of Barnet, Maulevrier's occupation of the Island 1460-67, the Bull of Sixtus IV. conferring neutrality on the Channel Islands in 1482, and so on.

To appreciate these stirring times the better, the student should try to group the leading incidents round the two castles, Mont Orgueil

and Elizabeth Castle, and in each case a literary guide is available, Nicolle's book on Mont Orgueil, for instance, and Dr. S. E. Hoskins' CHARLES II. IN THE CHANNELS ISLANDS (if Hoskins' chief authority, Chevalier's Journal, in its rugged unpunctuated French, prove too stiff a proposition). At the same time, though these excursions into universal history touch wider issues, the sociological student is advised to concentrate rather on those more domestic topics that concern the development of the civic life of the Island itself, such as more especially the following :

MANORIAL SYSTEM. A topic on which much is to be learnt by research on the spot is the manorial system. It remains to this day a burning question whether it was on the whole a blessing or a bane, its chief abuses being apparently confined to post-Restoration times, when the insular gentry, as in contemporary Scotland, began to find the standard of fashionable living too high for their ancestral resources and were tempted to put the screw on their tenants. The Manorial system is to-day by no means dead, and a visit to one of the greater houses will bring home the tenaciousness of tradition in old-world communities.

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The decay of the feudal courts as popular institutions had, however, already begun by 1660.

RELIGION. The history of Religion from Reformation times is well worth following ; Peter Heylin, who himself visited Jersey, devoting much space to its affairs in his famous HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, as also in his SURVEY. The original Calvinism took too firm a grip on the people, temperamentally inclined as they were to a certain severity, for Laudian Anglicanism to prove a wholly satisfactory substitute ; and Wesley's success as a missionary was at least in part due to the fact that he met the puritan spirit half way. The Parish Churches are all worth visiting, St. Brelade's, the oldest, being likewise the gem. Several of the formerly numerous chapels remain. The triple structure, two chapels and a shrine, on the top of the magnificent dolmen of La Hougue Bie, testifying to an age-long *religio loci*, is especially noteworthy. If an insular Rector can be induced to talk, it will be discovered that with him pastoral duties are hardly more absorbing than legislative, owing to the fact that he has a seat for life in the local Senate.

NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE. A third topic that can prove most absorbing is the development of sea-borne trade, more particularly from the middle of the 18th century until the coming of the steamship. Jersey can boast the earliest Chamber of Commerce—a few months older than that of New York. Its merchant shipping at one time almost monopolised the distribution of Newfoundland cod-fish among Catholic countries, while it also enjoyed a large carrying trade with all parts of the world, so that St. Helier's in the sixties was crowded with home-built vessels, and ranked high among British ports for the size of its fleet, if never for its convenience. The Jersey shipbuilders were famous for their fast clippers, and the disappearance of this industry was a great disaster. As an appendix to this subject the difficulties surmounted by slow degrees in the providing of harbours throw light on the Islanders' tenacity of purpose *versus* that of Neptune. Again, their privateering habits, which go back many centuries, will serve to illustrate another side of the same strenuous character, while "ye Jersey pyrates" are not unknown to history.

C. ACTIVITIES.

EVERYTHING said hitherto has in a way been but preliminary to the real task of the sociologist, which is to observe the social life, both in its particular manifestations, and in a wholesale way as the active functioning of a people intent on making a particular environment take the stamp of their particular ideals. All such social activities fall roughly into two classes, industrial and liberal, according as their immediate object is to further sheer living, or to make it possible to

live well. Thus economics, law and government come under the first category, religion, art and science under the second. The student must remember throughout that he is dealing with institutions that are neither French nor English, but of indigenous growth.

AGRICULTURE. The fundamental fact about Jersey in our day is that it is a community of small farmers who collectively still manage to hold their own against an overgrown town, having insignificant industries, and catering chiefly for English visitors who take little part in the permanent life of the place. In the recent hard times, as soon as agriculture drew in its horns, urbanisation took advantage to extend its domain, and the bungalow population has spread like a blight. It is on the land, however, that production, as distinguished from the necessary distributive work, chiefly takes place. Hence, just as long as there is a land-owning class of petty farmers, the present constitution will endure; whereas if they disappear, Jersey must sink to the status of a second-class watering place, and the real Jerseyman will tend to desert it for the Colonies, where he is always welcome.

THE Jersey farmer has little scientific education, but farms by traditional methods. Some of these are more sound than might appear on the surface, as when recently it turned out that keeping a goat with the cows—a Jersey custom possibly designed to disarm the devil, on the principle that like cannot harm like—is probably effective as an inoculation against contagious abortion in cattle. On the other hand he gets wonderful results, helped as he is by favourable natural conditions to which his methods have become thoroughly adapted, and it may be that science cannot teach him much in respect to a limited exploitation that has little use for expensive machinery. A great deal, however, remains to be done in order to organise better marketing, and this would entail intelligent collective action, quite opposed to the narrow individualism of the average peasant. Recent economic troubles have subjected the whole system to a severe strain, and the student may well pay attention to the problem of the future of Jersey farming; the main question being how far, world conditions being what they are, he can better his lot by taking thought. The insular States, by the way, are uncommonly prompt and effective in dealing with agricultural matters so far as these come under their control.

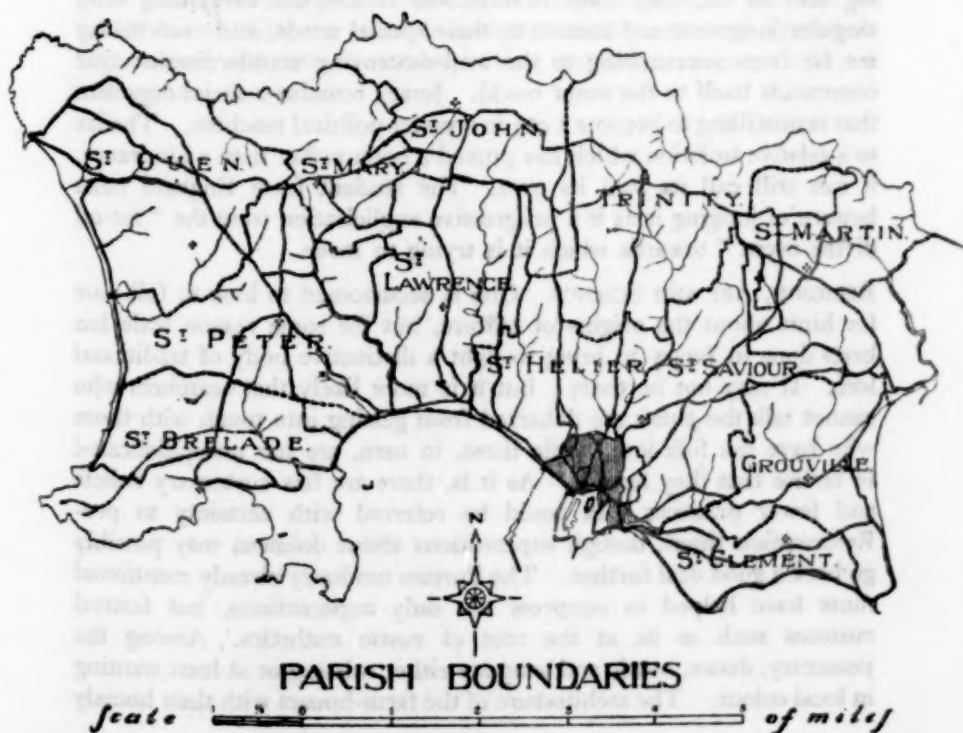
GOVERNMENT. The main features of the Constitution are mediæval. The Vicomte's title actually looks back to the days of Charlemagne, while the Bailiff and his twelve assessors, the Jurats, go back to the early 13th century. Formerly the Bailiff and Jurats formed a dominant oligarchy, since the Royal Court had powers of legislation by "ordonnance" which were not abolished until 1771, when all legislative powers were transferred to the States. This latter body had long had a subordinate existence, since the twelve Rectors and the twelve

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Connétables were in it from the 15th century, and perhaps earlier, "pour conseiller la Justice"—to advise the Court. Note that in the Middle Ages many of the chief yeomen families occupied places on the Bench of Jurats side by side with the leading Seigneurs. Gradually power has shifted to the middle class, especially since, half-way through the 19th century, fourteen deputies were added, one for each rural parish and three (now increased to six) for St. Helier's. Even so, country can always outvote town, an arrangement on the face of it undemocratic, though in effect it means that the primary industry, agriculture, has the say against other industries, such as are either productive in a secondary degree, or else are purely distributive. In the circumstances it is rather remarkable that such harmony should prevail. The usual party cries are not heard, and personal qualities count for more than abstract principles.

THE sociologist will find here an instructive case of what can be done by experience and common-sense, almost unaided by theory, and wedded to an ancient and unbroken tradition. Again he will have cause to admire the efficiency of unpaid service. This is well exemplified in the States, whose numerous and busy Committees

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administer finance, education, national defence, harbours, telephones, and so on ; or, again, in the municipal system, wherein the Connétables, assisted by a large staff of subordinate officers, manage their several parishes, which have autonomous finances and wide powers over police, roads, drainage, poor relief, unemployment, registration of births and deaths, elections, and the civil administration in general. The Militia of the Island with a long and proud history, but now the mere shadow of its former self, would also serve to illustrate the same spirit of voluntary service, which is the Island's primary source of moral strength. Regarded merely as a school of civic virtue, this old-world polity, replete with feudal survivals, can teach a lesson to the modern world.

LAW. The legal system, based on the 13th century "Grand Coustumier de Normandie," and thus typically feudal in its basic characters, is perhaps most easily studied in the REPORT of the Royal Commissioners of 1860 ; though it must be noted that a good deal has been done since that date to simplify and modernise the customary law, more especially in regard to the tenure, inheritance, and conveyance of real property. The student must realise the magnitude of his task if he would master the intricacies of the social rules that so long have guided this peculiar people. Deriving from old Normandy not only their legal principles, but their land measurements, weights and measures, monetary reckoning and so on, they have nevertheless re-adapted everything with singular judgment and success to their special needs, and even to-day are far from succumbing to the soul-destroying standardisation that commends itself to the outer world. Jersey remains a social organism that is unwilling to become a cog in a vaster political machine. Thanks to a relative isolation which has proved a boon rather than a hindrance, it can still call its soul its own. The student from England must beware of judging it as if a progressive anglicisation were the "far-off divine event" towards which it is trying to move.

RELIGION, ART AND SCIENCE. One is accustomed to look to folk-lore for hints about the origins of culture, but for some reason little has been done in Jersey to bring to light a distinctive body of traditional lore. It may not be there ; but it is more likely that searchers who cannot talk the *patois* are debarred from getting into touch with those who have the folk-lore, while these, in turn, are too unsophisticated to realise that they have it. As it is, there are few customary beliefs and fewer practices that could be referred with certainty to pre-Reformation times, though superstitions about dolmens may possibly go back a good deal further. The Puritan tendency already mentioned must have helped to suppress not only superstitions, but festival customs such as lie at the root of rustic æsthetics. Among the peasantry, dance, music and song are either missing or at least wanting in local colour. The architecture of the farm-houses with their homely

interiors, well reproduced in the Museum of the Société Jersiaise, represents, perhaps, the nearest approach to a traditional fine art, being plain, sensible and devoid of frivolity ; for it would seem that those who build in granite have characters to match, as at Aberdeen. Altogether, the peasant of Jersey in his psychological type as in all his ways reminds one more of the Lowlander than of the Highlander of Scotland—in short, of Teuton rather than Celt. It must be added in fairness that the better-educated class in the Island—and first-rate schooling is to be obtained there for both boys and girls—have cultivated tastes, so that painting, music, amateur theatricals, attending literary lectures, and reading in the fairly well-stocked Public Library have all their votaries. Indeed, a full list of insular biographies—such as still awaits compilation—would reveal many who have won fame abroad as men of culture no less than as men of action ; so that, for instance, among painters there may be reckoned Monamy, Jean, Le Capelain, Millais, Oules and Blampied ; while many notable writers and scholars might also be mentioned. Meanwhile, the claim of the Island to be actively interested in science and art rests chiefly on the record of the Société Jersiaise, which for over half-a-century has maintained a well-found Museum, preserved ancient monuments, and issued publications of a high standard. To further the higher education of the people in general, is, however, a matter of future enterprise, and suggestions along these lines would be welcome. A great deal could be done if some sort of a regular Summer School were established in this very suitable spot, to which students of all nations might resort not only to exchange ideas, but also to muse awhile and to breathe a diviner air.

R. R. MARETT.